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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1347

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'RUDE PRAVO' ATTACKS PROPOSED U.S. LOAN TO PORTUGAL

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Dec 76 p 6

[Article by (av): "In the Spirit of Washington Traditions"]

[Text] According to information published recently in the Portuguese press and elsewhere, informed circles in that country have been talking about Portugal's hopeful prospect of becoming an "experimental space" for testing the effectiveness of a new U.S. proposal which is being discussed in a protracted dialog between the Western industrial and the developing countries as an American aid project for the developing countries (the so-called North-South dialog).

At issue is a \$1.5 billion loan to be used for the economic consolidation of Portugal under the supervision of the International Monetary Fund. The money would be made available by the United States jointly with some Western European countries.

Because of a lack of more detailed information from the Lisbon authorities, even the Portuguese press is no more explicit than the other Western European press. According to the American press, the next (Carter's) administration intends to ask Congress for approval of a long-term loan to Portugal in order to "help consolidate democracy" in that country.

According to the Lisbon magazine EXPRESSO, the "American formula" of the loan is reportedly based on the view that Portugal's financial difficulties must be seen in relationship to the stagnation of its undeveloped economy. The calculated American "charity" is to give the Soares Government time for the implementation of a series of internal measures which would gradually restore the confidence of banks and foreign private investors in the country's economy. And they are then to become the regular financial backers of Portugal's deficit. But before this happens the above mentioned American loan would be at Lisbon's disposal to balance the budget deficits.

And since the imperialists' "charity" never comes free the American conditions have so far been discussed even in Lisbon only in hushed voices. In more or less general terms but "at the same time some people assert," according to the above mentioned magazine EXPRESSO, that "their implementation has actually already begun and that they are of a political nature" and that in addition to domestic measures Washington expects the Portuguese Government to support the American policy towards Spain, Brazil, and the Republic of South Africa. The magazine is of the opinion that these conditions are actually superfluous because even without them "the international weight of the Soares Government enables it to act in accord with these interests without instructions from abroad. Both in the matter of the bases in the Azores and of the army brigade for NATO."

In the area of internal political concessions, it concerns, among other things, the pressure to replace the one-sided socialist government by a coalition of socialists with social democrats or by an even wider coalition oriented more towards the right.

As evident, Washington's "charity" towards its allies is the same as it was, for example, towards Saigon and still is towards Seoul or various Latin American republics, and also towards some NATO allies--a tool of cynical intervention and of the creation of vassal relationships. Some wonder therefore that Portugal's progressive and democratic forces reject this intended demeaning role because it reminds them, among other things, of the infamous role of an American mercenary which until 25 April 1974, the overthrown fascist regime played willingly.

It demonstrates, at the same time, the line the ruling circles of the United States are following in relation to the developing countries within the framework of the so-called North-South dialog, where the "Portuguese example" of American "charity" is, as already mentioned in the beginning, a trial experiment by American diplomacy. Essentially they have the same goal as the era of the Eisenhower doctrine had in the Near East and later, during the Kennedy era, the "Alliance for Progress," including Washington's other known forms of aid: to slip on the American yoke and be at the mercy of parasitism of the international monopolies.

8664

CSO: 2400



## EAST GERMANY

### BORDER DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED BY 'DIE WELT'

#### New Type of Automatic Weapon

West Berlin DIE WELT in German 8 Nov 76 p 2

/Text/ The booby trap system on the internal German border continues to be improved. The GDR is now installing more SM 70 automatic firing devices with a new type of security case, probably made of plastic, on an approximately 5.5-km long section of the demarcation line opposite Niedersachsen. Officials of the Federal Border Police (BGS) are of the opinion that the cases are to prevent disassembly of the booby traps. The BGS estimates that the GDR will equip the entire more than 1,000-km long chain link fence, which divides east and west absolutely, with the SM 70.

#### Electronic Monitoring Devices Installed

West Berlin DIE WELT in German 26 Nov 76 p 3

/Text/ Soldiers of the GDR border troops are installing a more than 100-meter wide electronic observation belt on the demarcation line. The East Berlin leadership wants the hunt for refugees on the 1,393-km death strip between Hof and Luebeck Bay to be perfected with the most modern accessories and to operate as silently as possible.

The installations integrated with the chain link fences and booby traps consist basically of two elements. One is the so-called protective strip fence which, on the average, runs 500 meters east of the actual barriers and parallel to the demarcation line. The second component is so-called forward command posts on the extreme western edge of the "GDR."

The protective strip fence consists of a combination of conventional barriers and complicated electronically controlled mechanisms. The fence is 1.8 meters high. The lower half consists of metal gratings buried at least half a meter in the ground. Thirteen strands of barbed wire are mounted 90 centimeters above the gratings. They carry weak current and thus are mounted on insulators.

When the wires are touched the border soldiers are alarmed in three ways. So-called all-round lighting shows exactly the probable escape point for several dozen meters. Also acoustic and electric signals are displayed in the company command post and in the forward command posts. Thus far 755 kilometers of border have been equipped with this installation. Western experts are of the opinion that refugees are supposed to think themselves safe after passing the protective strip fence. Instead they run directly into the arms of the alerted border soldiers.

This situation is achieved by the GDR leadership with the second element of the surveillance belt. The observation towers made of modern precast concrete parts and installed directly at the chain link fence "in the forward front" are being expanded in the form of small bunkers around the command posts. There are already 93 of these alert bunkers.

The electronically tripped signals from the protective strip fence, the SM 70 booby traps and other sensors installed in the observation belt are all fed to the command posts. The alert groups can now be put into operation immediately. It is estimated that the time from alarm to reaching the probably escape location has been decreased from 5 to about 2 minutes. The increasing number of night alarms leads the Federal Ministry of the Interior to believe that "a number of escape attempts" have already been stopped in the protective strips.

#### Border Troops as 'Humanists'

West Berlin DIE WELT in German 2 Dec 76 p 2

/Text/ The GDR has celebrated the 30th anniversary of its border troops with a ceremony by the state and party leadership, orders of the day, militantly formulated congratulations from the allies and SED Central Committee, solemn vows by the soldiers and a programmatic speech by Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann.

Speeches and slogans printed yesterday in the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND give the impression of the necessity of a defensive system armed to the teeth against continuing attacks by the "imperialist class enemy" on the borders of the GDR. Not one word could be found about the fact that, since they were established, the border troops have dealt not with defense against attacks from without but rather with preventing escape attempts by their own people. In his speech Minister Hoffmann mentioned 20 border troops "murdered by the class enemy" between 1949 and 1975 "while defending our state frontiers." In 1976 alone the "national border" with the Federal Republic was violated by the western side "with provocative intentions" in more than 1,000 cases.

The general described the GDR as a "country open to the world" and striving for normal relations between the two German states. Against this were the "hordes of ravens of the cold war" ready for attack, "armed tramps" who disassemble border security installations and "political adventurers and incorrigible revanchists."

Hoffmann called the service of the border troops "humanism in action." "Our border soldiers protect life because they themselves love and respect life. Their hearts beat with love for man and are thus also full of hate against all those threatening the peace and happiness of man."

The GDR defense minister continued: "As in past decades, so in coming years will it be an effort in vain for those who want to shout down or tear down the state frontier of our worker and peasant power. We can say this with all decisiveness and confidence as we possess definite guarantees."

Hoffmann's reference to the "unbreakable bond of the armed organs with the working class, with the working people" contradicts information that only absolutely loyal communists are settled in the border district of the GDR. The history of the border troops is "connected to the closest degree possible with the trust and the solidarity of the working people."

The approximately 50,000 soldiers of the "Border Command of the National People's Army," to which so-called civilian border troop helpers for observation, investigation and border security have been subordinated since 1958, are organized in four commands (north, central, south and coast). Chief of the NVA /National People's Army/ Border Command is the 68-year-old trained mechanic and Lieutenant General Erich Peter.

8373

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EAST GERMANY

ORDERS REQUIRE RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE TRAINING FOR TEACHERS, STUDENTS

[Editorial Report] East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 41, 15 November 1976, pages 490-491, contains the texts of two orders, both dated 4 October 1976, on Russian-language training. The first order details the requirements for advanced Russian-language training for university and technical school teachers, and the types and duration of courses are specified. The second order pertains to compulsory Russian-language training for all students at GDR engineering and technical schools; types and duration of courses are also listed.

CSO: 2300

## HUNGARY

### GYORI EXAMINES ECONOMIC POLICY, ITS PROPAGANDA TASKS

Budapest SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 4, 1976 pp 13-24

[Article by Imre Gyori, based on a speech by the author: "Concerning Timely Questions of Economic Policy Agitation and Propaganda"]

[Text] We are working on the building of the developed socialist society. Realization of the historic program of our homeland requires both an intensive and proportional development of the people's economy and a socialist transformation of awareness. The pace of our further progress, our future and our fate depend on the solution of these two fundamental tasks.

A many-sided development of the economy and the socialist transformation of awareness are processes which cannot be separated from one another, processes which are realized in a constant mutual relationship. There is an especially close interdependence between economic construction and economic policy propaganda and agitation. Our agitation and propaganda work is aimed at making the masses understand the economic policy of the party, recognizing in it their real interests, so that they will participate actively in the solution of concrete daily tasks.

The role of mass political work is increasing together with the tasks of economic construction. The economic policy program of the 11th Congress, the Fifth Five-Year Plan, must be realized amidst internal and external economic conditions more complex than before. As a result of our development many sources of growth have been exhausted. Lasting economic growth can be achieved only by increasing efficiency. So there is even greater need for the understanding, conscious work and firmness of creative, active people.

There are good conditions for the development of consciousness formation, including economic policy propaganda. The content of the general policy of our party, including its economic policy, provides a foundation for this. A continuation of our tested and successful policy is embodied in our annual and medium-range plans. We are continuing that policy which created in our homeland a large developed industry and a developed socialist agriculture and which has guaranteed a regular increase in the standard

of living of our working people. In the period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan our people's economy will develop further in a dynamic fashion, make possible a solid and well-founded increase in the standard of living and permit us a great step forward in restoring a condition of balance.

Many factors indicate the development of our economic policy agitation work also. We have successfully answered those questions which arose in the changed world economic situation. We recognized that we had to turn greater attention than heretofore to expanding the economic knowledge of the workers and their understanding of the increasing role of the international division of labor. We have aided the understanding that the level and effectiveness of work done thus far will not be sufficient in the future to maintain our development and solve the tasks standing before us in the building of the developed socialist society. At the same time we have taken effective action against the lack of faith which magnifies the problems.

We must face certain deficiencies of view which hinder an increase in the level of economic construction. The workers, although they are better informed about the situation of the people's economy, still do not recognize with sufficient awareness the local tasks deriving from the national tasks. In addition to a general agreement with our economic policy aspirations the views of some of the people differ in certain questions. There are those who oppose the development of industry and agriculture as if their proportional and combined development did not most effectively guarantee our economic growth. Others do not understand the many important interdependencies of foreign trade activity. There are those who see in our recently introduced economic measures a revision of the economic policy of recent years. According to some the changes in producers' and consumers' prices are opposed to the work of building socialism.

These problems of view are not characteristic of the majority of the populace, we should not exaggerate them or underestimate them, especially in judging our agitation tasks. Economic policy agitation must be used to help more people orient themselves correctly so that more people will know what society and their own interests expect of them.

The most recent phase of our work can be called successful. Our people know and accept with agreement the goals of the Fifth Five-Year Plan and of the 1976 annual economic plan and experience thus far proves that they are successfully working to realize them. The populace of the country judges more realistically the situation of the Hungarian people's economy, the possibilities for raising the standard of living, and considers justified the more strict work demands. There is a strengthened understanding that work is the fundamental expression of political and moral firmness, that work is the source and foundation of individual happiness, justice and distribution. The faith of the people in the political and economic stability of the country and their trust in the party and government have strengthened, party unity has increased further and the link between the party and the masses has become closer.

Every upcoming task is a new test of the activity and work style of the party and of the link between the party, state, trade unions and workers and the masses; but each task is also a test for our agitation work. As has been proven many times it is more difficult to guarantee a stand for individual concrete measures than it is to guarantee general agreement.

Let us put in the spotlight those key questions and themes which are most important in a given place, for a given producing collective, at a given time, in accordance with local peculiarities, and let us aid most of all the solution of economic tasks. We must strengthen the view that the fate of our country and people, our further progress and the pace of our development depend on the successes of everyday work and our domestic achievements. If people see the goal clearly they will participate with greater trust and determination in the work of execution also.

#### Special Attention

What are those substantive questions which require special attention in the period ahead?

At the beginning of February the Political Committee passed a resolution about the economic policy and production agitation for the Fifth Five-Year Plan and about the tasks of propaganda. With this basic resolution the party gave a longer- and shorter-range guide for propagandists and agitators and for those working in the area of mass communications.

The resolution starts from the fact, as set down by the November 1975 session of the Central Committee, that the crucial condition for further development is a great increase in the effectiveness of social production and a gradual creation of balance in the people's economy. Intensive factors of economic growth come to the fore, the productivity of work and the efficiency of accumulation are to increase at a swifter pace, production costs must be decreased, use of fixed and circulating assets must be improved and there must be better economizing of energy and various materials. In the interest of laying the foundations for the increasing efficiency of production the development of an economical product structure must be accelerated in enterprises and factories, the increase in export capabilities must be accelerated and our participation in the international division of labor must be broadened. A fundamental task is the soonest possible spread of advanced scientific and technical achievements in practice, modernizing methods of enterprise guidance, improving the level of leadership and work and factory organization and the deliberate discovery of reserves which increase the efficiency of production.

It follows from all this that the greatest space in mass political work must be devoted to requirements connected with efficiency and quality. Almost every factor for improving efficiency can be discovered locally, too. These

include economizing time, labor and materials, use of machines and tools, making uneconomical production economical or ending it, introducing new products which can be marketed economically, technical and technological development, improving work organization and exploiting the advantages deriving from intensive and selective development. Thus chief attention in economic policy agitation must be given to these factors, to those themes and areas of economy and management which the broadest circles of workers influence directly. In this area we can make broader and more effective use of the activity and willingness of the workers. The fate of the five-year plan and of our economic plans in general turns on this. So more attention must be given, for example, to factors influencing the productivity of the workers, the extent to which the justified expectations are realized in connection with work order and conditions, the material and moral recognition of good work, local prospects, the style of leadership, factory atmosphere, safety technology and social welfare.

#### For the Development of Industry

We must place in the forefront of our agitation work among industrial workers an increase in the proportion of economical and competitive products and a reduction in the manufacture of uneconomical products. This can contribute best to the satisfaction of our domestic needs and to an expansion of our export.

Our agitation should keep on the agenda questions of increasing productivity. We must especially aid the development of labor force management. The most important productive force is man. And yet we frequently waste manpower. It is characteristic of the present situation that the internal distribution of the labor force is not adequately adjusted to the needs of the economy. And this is the source of many problems. There is a shortage of manpower in light industry, in trade and in health and educational institutions but there is a surplus of manpower in many areas. The white-collar apparatus has swollen and the number of those performing auxiliary tasks is unjustifiably high.

The deficiencies which can be found in the labor force situation can have an effect on the use of fixed assets also. Frequently modern production equipment stands idle for lack of manpower and the average number of shifts in industry as a whole, 1.4, is low.

The ministries have issued directives for the improvement of labor force management and work organization. They have concretely designated those areas where there are opportunities for a swifter increase in productivity and for decreasing staffs and in some cases they have obliged the enterprises to reduce staffs. The government has passed a resolution to modernize the system of supplementary wages, a new regulation of and limitations on second jobs has been enacted and a ban has gone into effect on hiring administrative workers.



Improving labor force management demands, in addition to central measures, an improvement in enterprise labor force management and organizational activity. A manpower surplus appears from time to time in some enterprises and plants. Usually those responsible know this but they hold on to the people "for better times," reckoning that in this way they will have greater opportunities.

Good initiatives can be found in some enterprises. They are using a wage policy which stimulates personnel savings, they are increasing the number of workers paid for piecework and are turning greater attention to an adjustment of norms. The number of shifts has been increased in several places and the use of modern machines and equipment has improved.

Several enterprises could also be mentioned where they are solving production tasks not by hiring new employees but rather by discovering and exploiting internal reserves, with technical development and ending "unemployment" within the gates. In the Ozd metallurgical plants, for example, the manpower needs of the new continuous steel foundry and bar-wire rolling mill, which come to 600 men, were largely solved with internal regrouping without causing problems in other areas. In the interest of a more rational use of manpower they increased the proportion of physical workers paid on the basis of work norms from 43 percent to 49 percent at Medicor, from 42 percent to 47 percent at the Hajdusag Industrial Works and similarly at other enterprises. Similar examples can be found in light industry plants, where the manpower problems are perhaps the most urgent. At the Cotton Thread Industry Enterprise, by a technical development of materials movement in the spinning works, they freed about 7 percent of those working on enterprise material movement and assigned them to other areas. These concrete enterprise examples show that the tensions of labor force management can be substantially moderated with local measures.

In connection with labor force management we must also speak about use of work time. We can regard as a great victory and achievement the general introduction of the 44-hour work week and that in most places of work every other Saturday is a free day. In a great many places, however, all Saturday work was arbitrarily ended. The government, correctly, restored the legal order of work. Full use of work time is even more important for society than it was before. The machines and equipment placed into production represent an ever greater national value and the creative activity of those who understand technology is ever more profitable and valuable. It is indispensable that work time everywhere really be working time. A further decrease in work time cannot be imagined as long as every hour and minute of the present 44-hour work week is not filled with productive work or proper activity. Among other things this is why it was ordered that volunteer social work could not be done anywhere on work time. Conferences and discussions should be rational and if possible briefer.

Free time is becoming more valuable from the viewpoint of the individual, for the generally improving material situation is making it possible for people to use it better and with more content for culture, amusement and

sports. They should respect work time more so that we can take further rational steps in the interest of shortening work time; with more disciplined, better work they can produce richer possibilities for spending free time.

In sum we can say that many local measures have been taken to improve labor force management and to employ the labor force more rationally. But these can be regarded only as first steps. A careful economizing of live labor has not yet become general and a great number of the enterprises are so far doing only as much as the decrees force them to do. More initiatives and greater responsibility are needed. Agitation should stimulate good initiatives, prepare them and watch them, aid necessary re-groupings of personnel and argue for these things from many sides.

Technical development continues to be an important tool for increasing productivity. With the restricted material possibilities the effective use of investment tools becomes a vital question. Our agitation has the task of mobilizing the planning, construction and fitting collectives to careful, precise work, keeping to the time limits, even finishing the special and other large investments ahead of time. In the enterprises it should care for those relatively small investments which facilitate work and increase international competitiveness and it should aid the discovery of the greatest reserve for technical development--better use and multiple-shift operation of modern and valuable production equipment.

Of the many tasks involving thrift we must concentrate the attention of the workers on two chief areas: decreasing specific material and energy use and a rational replacement of imports. Purposeful product and technological development are important for long-range discovery of reserves. But we should prove with convincing and many-sided arguments that careful work and reliable, good quality not only save time, material, energy, manpower and useable money but also are key requirements in every place of work for increasing efficiency and competitiveness.

#### For the Development of Agriculture

Dealing in a proper fashion with agriculture is an important task of our economic policy agitation. We must show in a determined fashion that the Fifth Five-Year Plan prescribes a development of agriculture in accordance with our possibilities. We will serve the cause well, both politically and economically, if we recognize the realities and if in this regard we do not oppose industry to agriculture. The two most important branches of production depend on one another politically and economically. Without a strong industry there is no developed agriculture; without a developed agriculture there is no strong socialist economy and no solid worker-peasant alliance. In our agitation we must prove this interdependence with effective arguments.

Our homeland is one of the most swiftly developing countries in regard to the growth of agricultural production and productivity. Maintaining this pace is both necessary and possible in the future. Yields and production averages can be increased not only in animal raising but especially in crop production with relatively small expenditures. We have an important task to aid the exploitation of the internal reserves of agriculture. We should stimulate the development of industrial type production systems, the development of integration processes, but we should not forget the traditional methods either. We must make it understood that now and for a long time to come the modern and the traditional will be very compatible in the development of agriculture.

Agitation should mobilize a more purposeful and more economical use of machines, chemicals and animal housing installations. The arguments should be linked to the everyday work of state farm workers and producer cooperative members and should be understandable to everyone.

Thrift which is realized together with the demands of professionalism increases economic effectiveness. In the opinion of agricultural experts much natural and artificial fertilizer is being wasted. This is partly due to bad handling or improper storage but partly it is because use is uneven and unplanned. On many farms they do not use the existing irrigation equipment and think about fixing or using it only in times of drought, although irrigation is needed not only in the dry weeks but would pay at other times as well.

These are issues which can be approached best from the side of human responsibility and interest, issues which, if we deal with them concretely and convincingly, could aid a better use of our reserves.

Household plot and auxiliary farms will continue to have an important role in satisfying private needs and in producing for market. Our public opinion in this matter is not uniform. There are some who consider them a burden and there are others who over-value the household plots. Neither view is correct. We should base the planned increase in agricultural production primarily on strengthening large-scale agriculture, on a further spread of modern agro-technology and on an expansion of industrial type production procedures. But we cannot do without the household plot and auxiliary farms based on private work, for they account for about 36 percent of gross agricultural production; in addition to self-supply they provide 15 percent of the central goods base of agricultural origin. Almost 1,700,000 families garden on household plots, little gardens and weekend homesites so this is not just an occupation connected with peasant life. They use their free time well, they produce something of value which they enjoy directly. Household production is useful to the country too because thus there is less demand to be satisfied from central stocks. It should be noted that household farming will accompany the socialist development of agriculture for a long time. We should encourage support for the production of the household plots, for initiatives aimed at increasing the security of supply and marketing.

## Concerning the International Division of Labor

In our economic policy agitation and propaganda we must discuss in accordance with their significance the questions of our international economic contacts. The expansion and development of our participation in the international division of labor can greatly contribute to the development of a modern production structure better adapted to the scientific-technical requirements, to increasing the effectiveness of the people's economy and to improving the foreign trade balance. I think that we can say with justice that we have succeeded thus far in making it clear in broad circles that the development of international contacts is one condition for the realization of our economic policy aspirations. Public opinion senses the importance of foreign economic activity in our people's economy and accepts the conception worked out for the development of contacts. What is essential now is for agitation to deal with the concrete daily goals and well-founded long-range goals of these contacts.

We should regard it as a basic principle that our foreign economic strategy is unchanged. Going beyond domestic resources our economy is developing on the basis of CEMA. For this reason it is very important to show the development and strength of the socialist world economy, especially to report on and justify the economic cooperation between our homeland and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We say this not only because it is an organic part of our friendly relations with our allies but also because our contacts with the CEMA member countries are of fundamental importance for our people's economy; it means a sure source of supply and markets at all times. Questions connected with the realization of the Complex Program merit special attention, i.e. the bilateral and multilateral long-range agreements with CEMA member countries which provide a long-range base for the stability of our people's economy.

It is also important to strengthen the view which derives from the general policy of the party in speaking of our economic contacts with capitalist countries. The dynamically developing cooperation of the CEMA member countries and the strengthening socialist integration are definitive in expanding our contacts with capitalist and Third World countries also. When speaking of these things we should emphasize that we are trying to produce economical, good quality products which will be competitive on all markets. We should represent the view that the several relationships of foreign trade, socialist and capitalist, are not contradictory but rather supplement one another.

Agitation will be more useful in making our international economic contacts a public concern if it goes beyond reporting on the great national or branch of industry goals and shows the workers of the individual enterprise or factory what place the factory and the product manufactured by it has among the similar factories and products of the world, whether it stands up to international comparison and how it depends on the worker how the name of the enterprise and the trademark of the product bring material profit and honor to our homeland and society in the socialist world and the capitalist countries alike.

## Questions of Our Living Standard Policy

A significant place must continue to be given in our economic policy agitation to questions connected with living standard policy. One of the fundamental basic principles of the party's policy was, and will be in the future, that the building of socialism, in harmony with increasing production and productivity, is accompanied by a regular increase in the standard of living of the workers and an increase in their well-being. One of the noteworthy positive effects of our propaganda thus far is that the members of society ever better understand the interdependence of the standard of living and economic work, that the development of the standard of living is inseparable both directly and indirectly from the results of economic construction. They also see more clearly the interdependencies of production and distribution, of production and needs and possibilities.

We must strengthen this recognition further, for achieving the living standard policy goals can only be based on much more effective work than heretofore, due to the well-known circumstances. We should make it clear that society can achieve a swifter than planned increase in real income or consumption only with work which is more effective than planned.

Our principles of distribution merit more attention in agitation and propaganda. The principle of distribution according to work is realized in socialism because society does not yet have at its disposal sufficient goods to satisfy the constantly increasing needs of its members at a high level and in every respect. Distribution according to work will be the chief form of distribution in the future also. This principle must be emphasized and realized now especially because efficiency has a crucial role in the intensive phase of the development of the people's economy. Differentiation of earnings in proportion with the work done has a stimulating effect on growth, too.

But it must also be noted that hereafter also, depending on the ability of the country to bear the burden, distribution according to work will be supplemented by social allotments. One fundamental goal in the development of these allotments is to decrease the differences between family incomes. By increasing the contribution to the rearing of children, partly by increasing the family allotment and partly by increasing child care aid, society is assuming an ever greater burden of maintenance and educational costs. In accordance with our possibilities we are maintaining the pensions earned by work of elderly people at a level which will result in a greater material balance in the living conditions of families.

Our living standard propaganda should build more courageously on the fact that the standard of living can continue to rise even amidst the more complex conditions of economic work. Real income can increase and will increase, if at a more modest rate than before. So we have no reason for lack of positiveness even in regard to the income factor which has been overexposed in propaganda.

It would certainly strengthen the effectiveness of our propaganda if we explained and evaluated the development of the standard of living more comprehensively. It is especially unjustified to equate the standard of living to incomes alone. It is obvious that social and communal services for the populace will continue to have a great role in the development of the standard of living. In the years of the Fifth Five-Year Plan we will spend for this purpose 40 percent more than in the previous period. In regard to the pace of housing construction we remain in the forefront of Europe, building 430,000-440,000 dwellings. Nurseries, general school services, skilled worker training, mass transportation, the shop network and public works will develop further at a swift pace. These are facts and also arguments. Agitation and propaganda could greatly aid a social recognition of and respect for the developing achievements of our socialist order.

Agitation does not adequately evaluate or give expression to the increase in the standard of living which accompanies changes in the consumption structure. Neither verbal nor written agitation deals, or it hardly deals, with an analysis of this theme although this would be justified by a clarification of certain contradictions in addition to showing the positive tendencies. (One apparent contradiction is that the sum spent on durable consumer goods --operating them, repairing them and exchanging them--is increasing in total family expenditures. This is one expression of the increase in the standard of living. At the same time, as an effect of the trend just noted, the proportional sum spent for other purposes is decreasing. So "material problems" are re-born, as it were, at a higher level.)

We consider it very important for agitation to explain the price questions together with standard of living policy and economic policy. In the course of the argument we should emphasize that prices are important tools of planning and control and it should be noted how much things cost the economy and the enterprises. Making the price system rigid would preserve the structure of production and consumption; would hold back an increase in efficiency and cause shortages in supply. Producers' prices cannot be long separated from domestic expenditures and world market prices. Naturally all this is realized as a tendency. In practice a significant part of the consumers' prices do deviate from expenditures and the changes in producers' prices are only partly realized in consumers' prices. We do this deliberately, for fundamental political and social reasons.

Before all else our public opinion must be made to understand that the socialist state, in harmony with social and standard-of-living policy goals, regulates the development of prices in a planned manner. Reporting on the measures aimed at maintaining price discipline and on the experiences and results of supervision could provide adequate arguments for and proof of this.

The average annual increase in our consumers' price level, over the longer and shorter range, is lower than that which the developed capitalist countries would like to achieve in the long run if they can even plan on it at all. Still I feel it would be superfluous to overemphasize this factor in propaganda; certain comparisons are not fortunate. The general law of socialist society is a continual increase in the standard of living. But the methods for realizing this are different in different socialist countries. For this reason sticking to consumers' prices and a mechanical comparison of them could give a distorted picture. Socialism can be built with different methods of guidance and different price systems. Realization of the general law is what is essential, namely that a regular increase in the standard of living must go together with the building of socialism.

#### Economic Guidance, Labor Competition

Questions of economic guidance must continue to be kept on the agenda in our economic policy agitation work. Planned economic guidance is a dynamic process in the course of which we learn, and use in the interest of society, the social-economic laws and regulate and harmonize the constantly developing economic links. In the period of building the developed socialist society the growth in the magnitude of social production and the increasing significance of intensive factors and qualitative changes pose new requirements for the system and methods of economic guidance. A further development of the system of economic guidance came on the agenda more or less at the same time in most socialist countries in connection with the building of the developed socialist society. There always was and is in the socialist countries an aspiration to perfect planned management, to increase enterprise independence, responsibility and initiative and further develop socialist economic integration. The cadre conditions for this are more mature. In 1968, while maintaining the basic principles of planning and guidance, we developed our guidance system so that, with the well-known tools, it would better serve the social goals.

The experience of 8 years now prove that the further development of the economic guidance system was correct and necessary. We achieved the chief goals that were set; our socialist system strengthened further; the construction of our society accelerated; socialist property relationships and production forces developed; the independence of the enterprises increased; planning improved in the entire economy and modern methods of socialist planned management developed further; production adapted better to the social needs. Realization of socialist planning continues to be our goal. We are convinced that a certain modification of the guidance system will aid an increase in the effectiveness of central guidance, an increase in the level of economic and enterprise planning, and the supervision of the execution of plans and the maintenance of economic discipline.

The economic regulators have had and will have a deciding role in ensuring that enterprise and cooperative management will result in the realization of our economic policy goals and the fulfillment of the economic plan. The economic regulators transmit to the enterprises and cooperatives demands

in harmony with the changing management conditions. Modifying the regulators, since increasing efficiency has become the chief source of economic growth, will encourage the enterprises to make better use of existing fixed and circulating assets and intellectual capacity, will accelerate technical development, will increase the proportion of modern and competitive products and will uncover the reserves hiding in the process of production and in marketing. Naturally the shunting effect of the regulators is not realized automatically. This must be aided with enlightenment work.

Our agitation needs a certain modification in content also. Primarily in the sense of whom we must approach with what message. We continue to consider it important that economic leaders and experts know and understand the essence, details and orienting character of regulation. But economic policy agitation for the broadest public should deal only with those elements and interdependencies of the regulatory tools which have a direct mobilizing effect on the work and lives of the workers. These include, for example, provisions regulating profit shares and worker incomes or connected with labor force management.

We should not demand broad and comprehensive knowledge of the regulator systems from those who do not have the task of dealing with these more profoundly. In years past we did have such attempts and, let me add, they were not too successful.

We regard it as an important task of economic policy agitation to develop the socialist labor competition movement. The role of the socialist labor competition movement continues to grow in the period of building the developed socialist society, remains an indispensable factor of our economic construction work and of social efforts serving development. The competition received a new impetus in the wake of the December 1971 resolution of the Central Committee. The results of the competition conducted to honor the 11th Congress and the 30th anniversary of the liberation prove this. The work done to fulfill the pledges greatly aided an increase in efficiency, an improvement of quality and a decrease in production costs.

Improving the conditions for labor competition must be aided in the future, primarily with factory and enterprise agitation. More awareness in undertakings, a democratic evaluation of results achieved and material and moral recognition of accomplishments could all be incentives for activating the workers and for a healthy spirit of competition. We must mobilize initiatives which fundamentally correspond to the requirements of our development and social progress; which encourage a swift growth of the productivity of work, better use of fixed and circulating assets and accumulated resources and the economizing of materials, energy and live labor. More attention should be given at every level of agitation to exploitation of the reserves hiding in discovery and innovation activity. We must aid primarily the development of innovations serving the swift use and practical application of scientific achievements, the modernization of the production structure, improvement of quality, increasing the exportability of products and raising the level of work organization.



Agitation could also very effectively contribute to raising the level of labor competition if it popularized the socialist brigades and workers leading in the competition, championed new buds and viable initiatives of the competition and raised true values to the rank of examples. Together with this, naturally, it should fight against bureaucratism and formal aspects which hold back the competition spirit.

#### For the Development of Factory Democracy

Aiding the development of socialist democracy is a general task of agitation and propaganda work. Our chief political message is that the needs of our socialist construction work put a broadening and deepening of socialist democracy on the agenda because the developed socialist society can be realized only with the active participation of the working masses. An opportunity for this is given by the fact that our political and economic situation is strong and the masses can ever more understandingly and better exercise their rights. Agitation should note that the development of socialist democracy serves both to activate the workers in the exercise of power and to increasingly realize their interests in the course of decisions.

Of the questions of socialist democracy, including place of work and factory democracy, we should place in the center of agitation those which can serve the most effective development of factory democracy. Before all else this means that workers should express their opinions about questions of planning, production organization and factory life and actively participate in the work. This has been and remains the most important criterion of the level of factory democracy and of the interest defending work of the trade unions. This includes, naturally, the struggle against apathy and the criticism of leadership deficiencies but the emphasis is on the former. The trade unions are making good use of the possibilities of factory and place of work democracy and should work within these frameworks to raise the material, social and cultural level of the workers, to realize their rights, guaranteed in laws and decrees, affecting their living and working conditions and to defend their interests. We should not forget that the educating and organizing work expressed in strengthening the worker power and in building socialism cannot be separated from interest-defending activity; this is socially necessary and indispensable and none but the trade unions can do it.

It is not opposed to the development of democratism if we make it clear where and in what democracy is possible and where and in what it is not. There is a place for broad debate, expression of opinion and democratic tools in deciding the chief questions, developing plans and preparing decisions but prolonged debate and weighing things anew would be a mistake in concrete, technical, operational questions or in carrying out decisions. Carrying out resolutions requires revolutionary discipline.

The organizational forms and frameworks developed thus far provide a good foundation for the development of factory democracy; these must be used even more purposefully and effectively in trade unionwork, too.

As a whole the results of our work thus far prove that a good change of view and a series of initiatives are developing in agriculture and in the majority of the industrial enterprises and industrial cooperatives. But it must be emphasized that we are only at the beginning of a favorable development. Fulfillment of the annual plan demands intensified work; our economic policy demands a consistent realization of the party and state resolutions connected with the economy at every post of work. Economic policy agitation work must be done with an awareness of this, too.

In accordance with the resolutions of the party and our social needs, education of the workers and a spread of socialist thinking stand in the forefront of trade union work. Economic policy agitation and propaganda must be regarded as one of the most important areas of this complex work in the future, too.

The trade unions, on the basis of their organizational independence, develop their agitation and propaganda system independently. This is a great opportunity and a great responsibility. It is our conviction that trade union agitation and propaganda well understand, as in the past, the economic policy tasks and with their own unique tools they will contribute to the development of a public opinion and behavior which will actively support our socialist goals.

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## HUNGARY

### ORGANIZATION, RESEARCH IN MILITARY SCIENCES DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 25 Dec 76 pp 8-9

[Article by Major General Dr Laszlo Damo, a candidate of military science and member of the Committee on Scientific Qualifications: "Post-Graduate Work and Scientific Qualifications"]

[Excerpts] Operations related to post-graduate work and scientific qualifications are directed by the TMB (Committee on Scientific Qualifications) with a 3-year mandate from the Hungarian Academy of Science. The chairman, secretary and members of this committee are appointed by the Council of Ministers from noted representatives of the scientific branches cultivated in Hungary and from representatives of the ministries, including the Ministry of Defense -- which are most closely connected to scientific work.

The TMB, while keeping its hand on the most important tasks of scientific qualifications, establishes committees of experts which exercise powers of making recommendations, giving opinions, and in questions of awarding a candidate degree, rendering decisions. The 17-member Expert Committee on Military Science, which is also constituted every 3 years, has been included among these committees since 1962.

According to the evaluation of the TMB, the Expert Committee on Military Science is successfully fulfilling its tasks. Annually, it directs the work of 50 post-graduates and deals with about as many post-graduates outside the organized framework. In recent years, its attention has also been extended to the post-graduate work of officers from several friendly countries. In regard to training, the Expert Committee on Military Science relies mainly on the Miklos Zrinyi Military Academy, where the post-graduates prepare for candidate examinations and where examinations are held. In nearly the past decade and a half, 85 candidate degrees have been awarded in military science and three doctoral degrees.

For this success in post-graduate work and scientific qualifications, Lieutenant General Istvan Olah recently expressed the acknowledgment and thanks of the Chief of Staff of the Hungarian Army, emphasizing again and

again that post-graduate work in the Army is an organic part of cadre training as a whole.

As called for by the 3-year cycle, the reconstitution of the expert committee came up in 1976. The ceremonial program of the Expert Committee on Military Science was held at the Ministry of Defense on November 19. At a meeting they made known to the Council of Ministers their decisions on the TMB chairman, secretary and members, as well as on the formation of the TMB Expert Committee in Military Science. In addition to personnel makeup, the latter resolution also referred to the fact that the authority of the Expert Committee on Military Science would extend in the future to subjects relating to the internal defense of the country. Therefore, it would also include the post-graduates from the Ministry of Interior and scientific qualifications attained in certain internal matters.

After the decisions were made known, Kalman Kulcsar, a member of the Academy of Science, praised the high level work of the Expert Committee on Military Science and spoke of the importance of maintaining high requirements and raising them further. He recommended that in the future, where possible, they should broaden the inclusion of civilians in scientific qualifications and provide, at all events, for the development of a democratic atmosphere of discussion, relying on scientific arguments. He recommended that the Expert Committee on Military Science follow more closely than heretofore the development of the doctoral activities of candidates who are carrying out the scientific foundation of important state tasks.

Major General Jenő Foldesi, deputy minister of the interior, welcomed the decision to have the Expert Committee on Military Science deal in the future with the work and qualifications of post-graduates belonging to the Ministry of Interior. He expressed his conviction that this solution would strengthen cooperation between the two portfolios.

After the comments, I gave in the name of the Comrade Chief of Staff a summary evaluation of the expert committee's activity over nearly a decade and a half. I stressed the very effective work of Dr Gábor Nagy, retired major general, who formerly worked on the Committee of Scientific Qualifications and of Dr József Lantodi, major general, who directed the work of the expert committee for 6 years.

In speaking of the future tasks of the Expert Committee on Military Science which is now beginning its activity, I drew attention to the fact that post-graduate work and scientific qualifications should be linked still better to the tasks facing the Hungarian Army, to the central research plan expressing these in an integrated way. It is important that the requirements relating to the work and preparation of post-graduates be raised in the future. Greater scope must be provided in research work for experiments and the verification of findings. The standard of work by opponents and judge should be a correctly interpreted usefulness. The expert committee should not give a scientific degree for work in which there is no new scientific result of appropriate value. Only high level

and corporate work conducted on a fundamental principle will further increase the respect of the Expert Committee on Military Science in the two ministries, in collective Hungarian scientific opinion, and abroad.

The Expert Committee on Military Science held its first working session on 25 November 1976, where the members of this body attended to solving their tasks on the basis of their guidelines. They also discussed how they could realize to a greater degree the following order for a science policy guideline by the MSZMP Central Committee:

"Scientific qualifications must be put more firmly in the service of social, economic and scientific goals. A scientific degree should be the standard for such scientific achievements by individuals as are in harmony with social, economic and scientific demands. With a point of view like this, let us not honor insignificant subjects with scientific degrees. Let the index be the real value system of a given scientific branch.

"The basis of scientific qualification should be a scientific achievement interpreted more broadly than at present. We must also recognize the achievements of collective research work and devote greater attention than at present to awarding degrees for this purpose. We must levy higher professional and scientific-public life requirements on doctors of science, and in awarding the degree we must take into account the total scientific works of those who are seeking it."

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## SZSP PLENUM DISCUSSES TASKS IN SHAPING STUDENT ATTITUDES

### Plenum Elections, Reports

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11 Nov 76 pp 1, 7

[Article: "SZSP Main Board Plenum; Room for Every Student in the Action Group; Stanislaw Gabrielski, Chairman SZSP Main Board, Next Year Second SZSP Congress, Resolution of Solidarity With Progressive Youth of the World"]

[Text] The Plenum of the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] was convened on 10 November in the columned auditorium of the Central School of Agriculture (SGGW). It was devoted to the further bolstering of the student organization's strength and content and the improvement of the operations of its basic units and echelons. Eugenius Pietrasik, vice chairman of the main board, gave the opening address prepared by the presidium of the SZSP main board. The plenum adopted a resolution to convene the second congress of the Socialist Union of Polish Students during the second quarter of next year and a resolution of solidarity with progressive youth of the world, in conjunction with the International Students' Week in progress. A new chairman of the SZSP main board was elected, Stanislaw Gabrielski. He summarized the plenum's deliberations, emphasizing the SZSP's tasks with regard to the second congress. (A discussion of the lecture, the presentation of the summary, texts of proposals and resolutions, and a biography of the newly elected chairman of the SZSP main board appear on page 7 of this issue of SZTANDAR MLODYCH).

The following people took part in the deliberations: Andrzej Werbian, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Zdzislaw Kurowski, member of the PZPR. Central Committee's secretariate and chairman of the main council of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth; Krzysztof Trebaczkiewicz, vice-chairman of the main council of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth and chairman of the ZSMP main board; Roman Ney, deputy minister of science, higher education, and technology; and representatives of ministries and brother youth organizations, along with officials of the SGGW, in which the plenum took place.

The Wednesday Plenum brings to a close a three-year period of construction and development of the socialist student organization. The report and election campaign begun a few weeks ago has revealed once again that the greatest attention should be devoted to the work of the fundamental organizational units of the SZSP, the action groups, because they awaken student scientific and sociopolitical activity. Unfortunately, although they exist formally, not all of them deserve the name action groups. There are more than 9,000 of them whose members are fully cognizant of their responsibilities, far too few for the total number of groups in existence. This is the reason for the efforts of the organization, the exchange of views and experiences at the meetings of group leaders, and the discussions at the plenary session of the main board.

Andrzej Nowakowski presented an account of experience in working with action groups in the Lodz area. The principle has been adopted there that not every collective can automatically become a fundamental unit of the organization, even if the majority of the students are SZSP members. The group has to work to earn the name and carry out a properly prepared program drawn up by the institution's council. A student group earns its credentials only by proving itself in concrete political and self-government activity.

Jan Adamski, of the Warsaw Polytechnic, spoke about the mutual relations between action groups and department councils. At this institution the general principle adopted is that action groups are not only groups which carry out tasks developed by colleagues. It is the duty of group leaders to take part in the drafting of plans and the voicing of SZSP members' recommendations to the councils. Only then will its action be genuine and full of vitality.

The chairman determines to a great extent the success of the work of the action group. Colleagues' attitudes depend upon his commitment and ideological involvement and his political maturity. Dariusz Filar, member of the All-Polish Council of Young Scientific Employees, emphasized this in his address. According to him, what the organization needs is the enterprising activist, one who is action-oriented, and, above all, full of initiative. He must not rely merely on delegating department council colleagues but must resolve the issues most important to the group himself. Such an activist will enjoy the respect and trust of the entire group.

The other members involved in the discussion referred to these statements and others. These people emphasized that each action group member must be aware that he belongs to an ideological organization. Taking into account the proposals made by the parties to the discussion and the results of the second meeting of action group chairmen, the plenum adopted a resolution requiring the SZSP Main Board to create a group to analyze all the suggestions and make the students aware of them.

Andrzej Werblan, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took the floor and presented the current socioeconomic situation of the country and discussed the tasks of higher education in the immediate future. The speaker emphasized the role of SZSP, the ideological-political organization, in the moral training of academic youth.

After adopting the resolution on the convening of the second SZSP congress and the resolution on solidarity with progressive youth of the world, the plenum went into organizational matters. In connection with going on to other work the plenum thanked Eugeniusz Mielcarek, the previous chairman of the main board, for his many years of work in the student organization and at the same time awarded him the gold honor badge of SZSP. As recognition of his service, he received the gold Janek Krasicki award from Zdzislaw Kurowski, chairman of the main council of FSZMP [Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth].

Then the plenum unanimously elected Stanislaw Gabrielski chairman of the SZSP main board. His candidacy was recommended by Zdzislaw Kurowski, chairman of the FSZMP main council on behalf of the main council and the SZSP main board.

Stanislaw Gabrielski summarized the sessions.

#### Biography of Stanislaw Gabrielski

He was born in 1944 in the village of Wilczewo, Golub-Dobrzyn Powiat, to the family of a farm laborer. He began social activity in a scout organization. During his studies at the Higher Agricultural School in Olsztyn he served in turn as chairman of the local group of the ZMW [Union of Rural Youth], member of the presidium of the institution's board and chairman of that board, chairman of the institution's local council of ZSP, member of the presidium of the voivodship board of ZMW in Olsztyn, and member of the presidium of the National Student Council. At the fifth ZMW student conference, he was elected chairman of the ZMW National Student Council.

In 1973 he was elected member of the main board of ZMW and the same year, secretary of that same main board. At the first SZSP congress he was elected vice chairman of the main board. In 1975 he became its chairman and at the same time vice chairman of the main council of FSZMP.

Since April 1976 he has been acting as vice chairman of the ZSMP main board.

He has been awarded the Gold Cross of Merit and the Gold Janek Krasicki Award.

He is an alternate to the PZPR central committee and a delegate to the Sejm.

#### Resolution on World Student Solidarity

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 11 Nov 76 p. 7

[Resolution: "Polish Academic Youth's Resolution of Solidarity With Progressive Youth of the World"]

[Text] Gathered at the plenary session of the SZSP main board we are holding today the opening ceremonies of this year's commemoration of International



Students Week, the traditional holiday of solidarity of all progressive and democratic academic youth of the world.

Today, on behalf of all Polish college youth:

Faithful to the best traditions of Polish patriotism inseparable with internationalism,

Aware of the responsibility we share for the peaceful development of humanity in the spirit of the ideals of progress and social justice,

Linked by the bonds of antiimperialist solidarity, we greet with fervor the progressive and democratic youth of all countries and continents.

Best brotherly greetings and wishes for further success in building communism we send to students of the Soviet Union, members of the Leninist Consomol. Friendly greetings we send to students of the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and all the brother countries of our socialist community.

Remembering the world tragedy and our nation's sacrifice of blood in the struggle against Nazi Fascism, in the face of the real chances for bolstering international detente because of the consistent policy and active stance of the forces of peace and socialism, we are calling on the progressive youth of the world to redouble efforts to make peace lasting and irreversible and to supplement political detente with military detente, in keeping with the second Stockholm assembly.

We are calling on the young generation of Europe to redouble efforts to fully implement the resolutions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The directions of our participation in building lasting peace on our continent have been formulated by us at the European Assembly of Youth and Students in Warsaw. Let us undertake efforts to even more fully inculcate and enrich the content of the documents adopted by this important forum of the youth of Europe.

All progressive and democratic youth of the world is formally commemorating this year the 30th anniversary of the founding of the International Students Union, which during all the years of its existence has been in the mainstream of the struggle of the forces for peace, progress, and democracy. Let this anniversary help all who hold dear the ideals of this union to become further activated in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, fascism and reaction, racism, and apartheid and for democracy, social progress, the democratization of education, and the political, economic, and social interests of students.

SZSP will continue to bolster the moral authority and position of the International Students Union, the only democratic, representative platform for the cooperation and solidarity of progressive student organizations of the world.

The unity of action of the progressive youth of the world has its beautiful tradition, the Festivals of Youth and Students, the next, 11th, of which, will be held in 1978 in Cuba, capital of the first socialist state of the western hemisphere. Polish young people have already begun to prepare for the 11th festival and are doing everything to insure its success. We call on young people and students of other countries and continents to give full support to the festival's ideas and to make preparations in keeping with its slogan: "For antiimperialist solidarity, peace, and friendship." Let the 11th Festival of Youth and Students be a representative manifestation of friendship and solidarity of the progressive youth of the world, against imperialism, fascism, war, exploitation, and aggression, in the struggle for peace, social progress, and democracy.

The political and social transformations which are taking place in the world prove irrefutably the strength and correctness of the ideas of peace, social progress, and democracy. Nonetheless, in most of the countries of the world a bitter struggle is still going on to make them a reality. This is why at the beginning of International Students Week we are emphasizing particularly strongly our solidarity with young people and students of those countries and continents which at the daily risk of their own lives and freedom fight against imperialism, fascism, racism, apartheid, and reaction.

We are expressing our fervent support for the heroic struggle of the nation and students of Chile against the fascist Pinochet dictatorship. We demand the restoration of democratic freedoms in that country and the release of the illegally jailed Chilean patriots, including many student activists.

We send expressions of solidarity to the nations and students of South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia, who through their struggle are striking out against the bastions of colonialism, racism, and apartheid.

We are calling for a strengthening of antiimperialist solidarity with the nation of Palestine on behalf of a peaceful solution to the situation in the Near East.

We greet students of the victorious nations of Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau and send them wishes for success in the reconstruction and in making the historic transformations in their countries permanent.

We give support to students of capitalist countries struggling for progressive social and democratic changes.

Let the antiimperial front of the progressive youth of the world become stronger.

Polish college youth will stand in the first ranks in the fight for peace, security, and cooperation among nations, and for social progress and socialism.

Warsaw, 10 November 1976

SZSP Main Board

## Resolution on 1977 SZSP Congress

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 11 Nov 76 p 7

[Resolution: "Resolution of the Main Board on the Convening of the Second SZSP Congress"]

[Text] During 1977 the term of office of persons elected to the Main Board at the First SZSP Congress will run out. In keeping with the SZSP statute the SZSP Main Board has decided to convene the Second SZSP Congress in Warsaw during the second quarter of 1977.

The Second SZSP Congress will evaluate the work of the organization for the period of the past term and will assess the implementation of the resolutions of the Congress of Polish Students and the first Founders' Congress of the Socialist Union of Polish Students.

SZSP, an ideological-political, mass organization of college youth with a general nature of operation, will continue and expand the best traditions of ZSP, ZMS, and ZMW.

In adopting its ideological declaration, the Socialist Union of Polish Students emphasized its major task, the integration of the student milieu around the party program, and joined in the upbringing of the young generation and preparation of ideologically-oriented, committed, highly qualified cadres of the socialist intelligentsia.

The Second SZSP Congress poses for the organization and all students new tasks of active participation, along with the entire society, in carrying out the party program adopted at the Seventh Party Congress.

In carrying out the program of the country's dynamic development, the highest duty of every Pole and an expression of modern patriotism is honest, productive work, and the basic task of every student is good studying and an ideological commitment to the problems of the country, the environment, and the institution.

The dynamics of social processes have become fully externalized in the Polish youth movement. The creation of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth has formed the platform for joint action among all the youth unions. Along with the working, rural, and military youth organized in the Union of Socialist Polish Youth and school youth in the Union of Polish Scouting, we are carrying out an ambitious youth program, which follows from the resolutions of the Seventh Party Congress and the Congress of Polish Youth.

We want to use our student work and knowledge to serve the country better, to obtain ever better qualifications, and to try to make full intellectual, scientific, and social use of the potential of the environment.

In the discussion prior to the congress we will emphasize the rank of the ideological-upbringing function of the institution of higher education, the quality of education and upbringing, and the improvement of the human relations content in the didactic-upbringing process.

The precongressional campaign should be a broad platform for discussion for the whole academic community, students and instruction staff, and all parts of the institution's upbringing front should take part.

Together we will create the organization's program in wise meaningful discussion. We expect the participation of all SZSP members, groups, bodies, and sections of the SZSP and the participation of all students.

The main board has decided that the institutions' report and election conferences will elect delegates to the second SZSP congress according to the principle of electing one delegate for every 500 SZSP members. There is also the principle of representation for all college organizations and foreign branches of SZSP, using the organization's figures as of 1 January 1976 as the basis.

All the preparatory work for the second congress will be directed by the presidium of the main board, which is charged with defining the exact procedure for electing the delegates and the time and duration of the precongressional campaign and with creating groups to make preparations for the congress.

The main board is calling on all members and activists of SZSP to take an active part in the precongressional campaign, in order to make their personal contribution to the creation of the program of the student organization on the scale of the ambitions and tasks of the young generation of socialist Poland.

Warsaw, 10 November 1976

SZSP Main Board

#### Need for Better Programs

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 11 Nov 76 p 7

[Article: "What Does It Mean to Belong to SZSP? A Discussion of the Address of SZSP Main Board Chairman Stanislaw Gabrielski"]

[Text] Our organization is on the eve of an important event, the Second SZSP Congress, said Stanislaw Gabrielski by way of introduction. Hence we must make an honest accounting of our past work and decide the program for the future altogether. The program should be subordinated to the supreme goals of socialist moral training of college youth. The speaker emphasized. It is our patriotic duty to develop the conviction that to be a Pole means to give all our strength and skill to Poland, to love our country, and to identify with it not only in success but also in difficult matters.

In this era of rapid civilizational changes, the social role of the intelligentsia will increase and along with it the SZSP's responsibility for the ideological-political face of the academic community. During the period prior to the congress we should devote a great deal of attention to these matters. The speaker continued, we should work so as to link the whole academic community intellectually and emotionally to the party's program. We must remember that the effectiveness of ideological work is determined not only by an awareness of upbringing goals but also by skill in inculcating them efficiently and effectively. It is therefore a question of the organization's encompassing the whole academic community in its influence, because it will only be then that our work will have a really influence on young people's attitudes.

The driving force behind all changes is human knowledge and creative, new attitudes. It is therefore obvious that in wishing to take a creative part in the construction of modern Poland the institutions of higher education must concern themselves with the effectiveness and up-to-dateness of their work. One basic issue is the integration of the institutions' scientific, instructional, and moral training tasks. Upbringing practice should tend to inculcate ever more effectively the ideals of students' shared participation in all these tasks. Stanislaw Gabrielski emphasized that by bolstering the ideals of the independence and partnership role of college youth, we make young people independent and responsible. But only wise, courageous people of ideological commitment will be able to boldly turn the prospects for our country's development a reality. The institution of higher education and SZSP represent the main element in the shaping of young people's attitudes.

"At today's plenum we have considered one of the key problems of our organization, the quality of upbringing work of the SZSP action groups. This matter calls for further concentrated political and organizational effort," the speaker said, "because the organization's moral authority in its environment depends on the activity of its basic units. It is right in the group that the matters of college young people's attitudes and world outlook are resolved. Hence it is first of all here that we must create a favorable upbringing climate."

Stanislaw Gabrielski said, 'in the precongressional discussion we should pose a basic question for our organization: What does it mean to be a member of SZSP? Joining the Socialist Union of Polish Students means choosing a certain way of life, the social obligation to do creative work for the good of Poland, a commitment to exemplary moral and citizenlike attitudes.

Our organization is ideologically political, a mass organization, one with a universal nature of operation. The organization's formula is not easy to accomplish, but it can be very effective in structuring the ideological attitudes of the academic community, although the organizational model established 3 years ago needs to be consistly inculcated and constantly improved.

In practice careful attention must be given to the unity of the organization's ideological-political function and the general activity of the entire community of scholars in work and study for the country.

Our generation is living in more peaceful times than ever, under conditions of national security. We owe this condition to the efforts and dedication of people committed to the cause of freedom and peace. Following the Helsinki conference and after the Warsaw Assembly of Youth and Students we are all the more obliged to make efforts to insure the development of friendly contacts and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world and to help to strengthen the peace. On the threshold of International Students Week we are expressing our solidarity with the whole progressive, democratic student movement.

We have devoted today's plenum to very important upbringing problems of our organization and of institutions of higher education, Stanislaw Gabrielski said. It should not end. It should begin a broad discussion on this subject. If we want to act effectively, we must be present in the whole of academic youth and know its needs, aspirations, and goals. We must be a vital, authentic organization, create a direct climate of equals, of colleagues, and at the same time demand more and more of each other. At a time when our country is developing as never before, the work and commitment of all young Poles are essential. In the discussion prior to the Second SZSP Congress we should develop that program for our organization which will make it possible for us to take an active part in carrying out these important tasks.

#### Inactivity of Local Units

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 11 Nov 76 p 7

[Article: "Handling the Blank Spots; Discussion of the Report of the presidium of the SZSP Main Board Presented by Eugeniusz Pietrasik, Vice Chairman of the Main Board"]

[Text] The quality of the entire student organization depends on the quality of the work of the basic SZSP unit, the action group. The action group, its problems, and the functioning of the rest of the SZSP bodies will be the focus of attention right up to the second SZSP congress, according to the speaker. The basis of the discussion concerning the upgrading of the organization's work must be a straightforward analysis of young people's attitudes and views, their aspirations, and the recognized hierarchy of values, especially since significant changes have occurred in recent years. College youth wants to take an active part in the country's social and economic life and contribute to its further development. This is shown by much research, which indicates that the most highly regarded values are family happiness and high, reliable vocational qualifications fully implemented in interesting, useful work.

There is also a decisive increase in the ranking of relations between colleagues and friends and hence in the dean's group, which after all is nothing more than a group which works and plays together. Most students are SZSP members who came into the organization on purpose, realizing its ideological assumptions, the speaker emphasized. Nonetheless, past experience shows that not all action groups are actively at work. Nor do they all contribute to carrying out the ambitious program of the organization. A recent meeting of group leaders of action groups showed just how much remains to be done and what the difficulties are.

How can we explain such a state of affairs? There are several causes. Some are objective, but above all we should take up those which stem from inadequacies in our operation. We should consider whether we have done everything to make our colleagues socially active and whether we have investigated why some of them are standing on the sidelines.

Students are frequently treated as a homogeneous groups which must be convinced of something, led somewhere, or shown something, E. Pietrasik continued. Actions for show as we sometimes encounter them, concern for attendance, and so on discourage people from taking an active part in the life of the academic community, and this is particularly true for many students who think critically. A collective by no means signifies the denial of individuality. A person is a social entity, and he can fulfill himself and develop his personality only by living and working with others. This old truth must become the slogan of our action, and this is why today we should consider to whom our program is aimed, the speaker emphasized. Too often the thrust is in the direction of the activist who is already formed, while after all we should be interested in making our program reach the average student first of all. We must make him aware of our plans and mobilize him to take part in carrying them out. And one more thing: We cannot think that everything we propose can reach students. If our community of students does not take it upon themselves to carry out the proposals presented, this need not be an indication of passivity. It may be that they have failed to interest the students. But we should not overlook this. We must create a climate so that the average student can make his own proposals and is eager to.

What we need is a college graduate with a modern education, Eugeniusz Pietrasik said. A graduate prepared to live in society, in a group. We need a graduate who is an aware member of the socialist society. A system of continual education greatly expands the tasks of education and upbringing. Various institutions and organizations are taking part in it. Therefore, we too have the obligation to prepare the college graduate to contribute to the development of the socialist fatherland. Within our organization it is the action group which is the place for discussions of this sort and for the conscious shaping of active attitudes.

The didactics of the institutions of higher education should consider collective action to a greater extent. After all, the group can carry out joint projects, work towards a diploma, and prepare seminars. Groups should

as we ourselves have decided, at least once a semester prepare a topic in sociopolitical subjects. There should also be a more exact analysis of the achievements and shortcomings of the group's members in their studies. The slogan "Nothing Concerning the Student Without the Action Group's Appraisal" must also be confirmed in real life. The issue of pledging a guarantee on behalf of colleagues and distributing material benefits is the best example of conscious participation in the life of the academic collective.

SZSP action groups spring up in all the institutions of higher education, in all departments, and at all levels of study. This in no way means that all organized college youth is taking an active part in carrying out the tasks of the organization. There are still too many blank spots here. It is true that the groups exist, but somehow they often exist only formally, on paper. This is why we have set up an all-Polish meeting of action group leaders. In the discussion much has been said about shortcomings in the work of the action group and also about the successes and real achievements of those good groups which may serve as an example. We have talked in the past and today we want to talk about the particular responsibility borne by the action groups which have the right to recommend their members for party membership. It is urgent that we draft criteria which a group must meet in order to gain this responsible privilege. The speaker emphasized that he was counting on having this discussion contribute to the solution of that problem.

We must also discuss the political work in the group. This cannot be merely training and discussion meetings. It is essential that students take an active part in planning the program and conducting lessons on ideological subjects. They must be enlivened, made more attractive, and thematically related to major fields of study.

The SZSP program is rich and comprehensive. There is room for every student in carrying it out. But we should see that the forms and methods of work are made attractive and varied and that the tasks for the groups and each member are individualized. These are tasks which should become major ones in our action and discussion prior to our organization's second congress, because their implementation will determine the effectiveness and quality of SZSP work in the process of the socialist upbringing of the intelligentsia, which will be ready to serve our country, socialist Poland, with its knowledge and work.

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POLAND

SCHOOLS NEED IMPROVED METHODS FOR TEACHING RESPECT FOR LAW

Warsaw CZATA in Polish 5 Sep 76 pp 1,2

[Interview with Leszek Gomolka, Director of the Department of Social Preventive Measures and Social Rehabilitation of Youth at the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, by Zbigniew Lenartowicz]

[Text] In the light of the resolutions of the Seventh Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee, the basic objectives of the school are not only its teaching functions but also the formation of civic and ideological - moral attitudes; these provide the background for an expansion of the youth's knowledge of the law. In that activity the school is not restricted merely to its own resources. In addition to the scout movement, the Polish Red Cross and sports organizations, the LOK (National Defense League) groups are active on school premises carrying out a program of training in patriotic defense and thus devoting considerable attention to the formation of a young citizen's attitudes. With regard to socially maladjusted youth, the school, the training institution and public organizations, including LOK, should perform functions of preventive social adjustment within the framework of their activity.

[Question] What are the experiences achieved in that area and what opportunities exist for their practical utilization? We submitted this question to Leszek Gomolka, director of the Department of Social Preventive Measures and Social Rehabilitation of Youth at the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, worthy LOK activist.

[Answer] As concerns the educationally deprived students, the children from morally endangered environments and children and youth displaying symptoms of maladjustments, the school conducts various tutoring programs, renders assistance and intervenes with the pertinent institutions and organizations. A form of action important for social preventive measures is an earlier enrollment of pupils in the first grade. Not only does this help determine the degree of the future first-graders' readiness for school and their intellectual and physical abilities and social maturity, it also provides information concerning their family environment. This in turn serves as a basis for the beginning of a tutoring program designed to give each child an equal start and to prevent social maladjustment.

Proper diagnosis by the school of the family environment of undisciplined schoolchildren, determination of essential tutoring and educational needs in such a group, planning of methods of assistance and observation--those are the forms of work that primarily affect the results of the actions of school authorities aimed at liquidating the margin of socially maladjusted youth.

As for the children and young people from environments which for various reasons, cannot fulfill the function of guardianship, the school has the obligation to render them material assistance. At the present time, more than 3 percent of the elementary school pupils and approximately 30 percent of the secondary school students receive scholarships and grants. An important material aid to the family is the nourishment and supplementary food program for schoolchildren, particularly those who stay in school after classes. Club rooms and day-care centers render assistance in organizing care for the children of working parents. The plans of the education ministry are moving in the direction of assuring all children in grades 1-4 whose parents work the opportunity to spend their free time after classes in a club room.

On the other hand, the club rooms in high schools are turned into youth clubs. Such clubs may be used by all students of that particular school and with the principal's permission, by students from other schools. The clubs are run by youth on the principle of self-management. In the high school system, boarding schools provide considerable help to the family as concerns children's education. At the present time, the capacity of boarding schools is about 300,000. An increase of the capacity by 121,800 is projected for 1976-1980.

Various forms of extracurricular activities offer versatile recreation to the schoolchildren, foster many useful interests, teach how to manage one's free time independently, and prevent the emergence of behavior problems.

In Poland, primarily in large cities, there are about 2,200 places of after-school care, such as youth halls, youth houses of culture, play-grounds and school sports centers. They provide educational guidance to about 5 million schoolchildren who develop their interests in cultural, educational and sports groups, clubs, reading rooms, etc.

In addition to other organizations, the LOK groups are active as co-organizers of the children's and youths' free time in numerous schools of all types. Because they offer attractive forms of activities, the LOK groups enjoy great popularity. They fulfill essential educational functions, especially in the area of patriotic and civic upbringing.

[Question] Some socially maladjusted, undisciplined youth are finding their way to training institutions. Are the elements of the program of patriotic defense training included in the process of such young people's social rehabilitation?

[Answer] The forms of activity in rehabilitation centers differ according to the degree of the lack of discipline and social maladjustment of the youth;

however, the main objective is to provide for the youth proper conditions of upbringing that would lead to an elimination of the causes of delinquency and teach them proper manners, standards, attitudes and adjustment to life in society.

In the process of rehabilitation we are paying special attention to vocational training of our wards, but this does not obscure the objectives of the requirements of general instruction. This is now particularly important in the planning of a rehabilitation program to fulfill the tasks stemming from the reform of the educational system in accordance with the projected system of national education.

Training institutions put considerable stress on a proper organization of the students' free time, developing interest groups, among other things, consolidating and expanding sports clubs and associations, introducing defense training, etc.

An extended program of defense training, regarded as a method of social rehabilitation, is being introduced in most educational institutions. On that level the institutions are cooperating closely with military units, LOK components, and the Aeroclub of the Polish People's Republic. A parachute training camp, organized for the first time this year in Miedzeszyn near Warsaw for those students who distinguished themselves by their conduct and studies may serve as an example of this cooperation. Similar camps will be organized in the coming years.

In enriching the program of patriotic-defense training with new contents we see a need for a greater involvement on the part of social organizations that are active on school premises. The ZHP (Polish Scout Union) and the LOK have a special role to play here.

[Question] Greater knowledge of the law on the part of the youth is directly connected with an impact on their world view and their moral and social attitudes. What is the practical activity of the education ministry in this area?

[Answer] In spite of undeniable achievements scored in particular by the Union of Polish Lawyers and the Social and Legal Centers of the ZSMP, the currently employed forms and methods of popularizing the law among the youth do not fully correspond to current needs. Appreciating the importance and meaning of that problem and at the same time determining therein the aspects of a modern, long-range policy in the field of prevention, and utilizing the positive experience of those organizations, the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, together with the organs of the public prosecutor's office and with the participation of interested ministries and organizations, took action last aimed at introducing into the school curriculum subjects dealing with social and legal problems.

As a result of implementation of the agreements concluded on 19 June 1975 by the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic and the Minister of

Education and Upbringing concerning further expansion of cooperation by the organs of the public prosecutor's office with the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, ten subjects dealing with social and legal problems have been experimentally introduced in 23 eighth grades of elementary schools in nine voivodships. These were key problems concerning, among other things, the organization of the administration of justice in Poland, fundamental rights and obligations of the youth, the principles of responsibility of minors and juveniles, the labor law and the penal law, the consumption of alcohol and other intoxicants, and social parasitism--as crime-breeding factors. At its conclusion the experiment fully confirmed the need for and the advisability of introducing such subjects in the schools. Therefore, the Ministry of Education and Upbringing with the participation of interested ministries and organizations plans to introduce in the next few years in the curriculums of all types of schools - varied (depending on the type of school) subject matter dealing with social and legal problems and to include in the future such subject matter also in the curriculum of the ten-year secondary school.

[Question] We thank you for the interview.

9004

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YUGOSLAVIA

BILIC COMMENTS ON TRENDS IN CROATIA, PARTY, GOVERNMENT

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 12, 19, 26 Dec 76

["Excerpts" from interview with Jure Bilic, secretary in the executive committee of the presidium of the LCY Central Committee, by Nenad Brkic, editor-in-chief of RADNICKE NOVINE--no date specified]

[12 Dec 76, pp 12-14]

[Text] Nothing Was Accidental

Question: Looking back on the 21st Meeting from today's vantage point, the secretary in the executive committee of the presidium of the LCY Central Committee endeavored, first, to place its principal features in the context of the trends in society which it encouraged.

Answer: It is quite certain and self-evident that the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium was a showdown with haphazard developments and liberalism in society and that it became the basis for a more vigorous showdown with a number of adverse tendencies in society which had in common their opposition to self-management. However, I think it would be an oversimplification to look at the 21st Meeting solely in what I might call that "restrictive" light. That meeting after all meant not only a tearing down of what was not good, but it also--and in this lies its more valuable and essential significance--opened up new opportunities for knowledge and solutions in the development of self-management, in the development of the party, and generally in the sociopolitical and economic development of the entire society.

The 21st Meeting Did Not Come by Surprise

Quite often, probably because of the immediate reasons for holding that meeting, it is spoken of as an event which occurred suddenly, by surprise, seemingly unexpectedly. Yet the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium was the culmination of a series of actions, agreements and reflections. I recall that back in 1969 I was working in a group of the LCY Central Committee with Comrade Vida Tomsic and some other comrades on problems concerning the future development of relations among the nationalities. I

recall that back in 1968 we placed on the agenda matters concerning nationwide defense, that is, implementation of the idea of the armed populace. Our aim was to go back to the experience of the popular uprising and the National Liberation Struggle, which to some extent we had neglected. You recall that before the 21st Meeting there was also quite a bit of talk about our foreign policy, that is, about resistance to our nonaligned orientation, when accounts had to be settled with the thesis that Yugoslavia ought to be some kind of a neutral country and above all a European country, something like Switzerland, from which position we would supposedly be crafty enough to take advantage of both East and West. It would be a kind of zig-zagging between the blocs. Not only that, but at that time there were in leadership bodies, and especially in the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, people who were saying that Tito was conducting a "black" foreign policy, that is, that he was emphasizing or relying on the blacks.

The public discussions of the constitutional amendments were an immediate preparation for the 21st Meeting. They were in turn a consequence of the realization that there had been a certain blockage in the development of self-management and that not a single essential social, economic or even international issue could be effectively resolved without more radical and consistent pursuit of self-management of the orientation of our development. A number of interrelated problems were involved, new ideas evolved and pointed the direction, and the 21st Meeting came as the culmination of all that, what one might call a political regrouping of forces and attitudes in that direction. The fact is that before the 21st Meeting, and especially after it, there was hardly any issue which was not put on the agenda.

Question: Where, then, Jure Bilic was asked, can the 21st Meeting be placed if we break this time into periods and if we set it alongside other important meetings and congresses of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or the League of Communists of Yugoslavia?

Answer: One must understand this continuity. The Fifth Conference was the result of the times. Tito became the leader of the party in 1937, but even before that he had been acting as organizational secretary. At that time the situation in Europe was seething, fascism came on the scene at that time, and profound social and political crises resulted. There were deep contradictions in Yugoslavia. In 1940 Europe was already at war, and at that time the party answered the essential questions of that time, both the domestic questions and also questions about world events, about fascism above all. The Fifth Conference of the CPY was the necessary culmination of all those conditions, and it also meant that our party and its program, the program of action which was adopted at that conference, had matured.

The Fifth Congress of the CPY came after two important events. The first was the victory of the revolution, in which we established all the basic

strategic lines of development of Yugoslav socialism, and the second which simply made a conflict with Stalinism unavoidable, since this represented the opposite theory and practice in the development of socialism. Here again the party was ready to meet the demands of the times.

#### A Step Forward

After the Fifth Congress we were looking for new and uncharted roads in the building of socialism. The Sixth Congress of the CPY analyzed the path up to that time and offered or suggested the main lines of future social development, but it also had certain inherent shortcomings. The Seventh Congress, which adopted the LCY Program, and the Eighth and Ninth Congresses were the congresses in which these aspirations were worked out. Yet at that time many socioeconomic conditions had in objective terms not matured sufficiently for us to carry out some of the deductions that had been made and stands that had been taken at those congresses. I would say that some of the ideas launched at those congresses were in objective terms in advance of the forces that were possible in the development of society, and by that I mean both the productive forces and also the political conditions of the time.

So, between the Fifth CPY Congress and the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium, and then later the 10th LCY Congress, we had a very eventful social development as we looked for innovations, but at the same time preserved and developed the principal course we had adopted. It is true that we meandered, and we encountered numerous difficulties: for instance, difficulties in the economy when bureaucratic and centralistic management of the economy, state socialism in other words, was abandoned, and we made the move toward a market economy, because of the transformation of the party as it moved from the exercise of power to the liberation of the working class itself, as we explored to find the right lines of development and forms of self-management from the workers' council on down.

In opening ourselves up to the world we were not only shattering the monopoly of bureaucracy, but we were also opening up an opportunity for development of the productive forces, but this also meant that there would be room for all ideas and patterns of behavior. That world also had an impact on us, and we have been taking from it not only things we can use constructively, but adverse influences as well. Those congresses of the LCY, then, were the result of those explorations and of those eventful times, but they always represented a step further and had an essential impact on development of the productive forces and the development of society, even though it was not always objectively possible to put all of their ideas into practice.

In talking about the party then perhaps we should quote Marx at this point: "Every nation should and must learn from others. Even when a society has managed to trace and follow the pattern of its natural laws of development--and the ultimate aim of this work (the reference is to "Das

Kapital") is in fact to reveal the law governing modern society's economic development--it can neither leap over nor omit phases of natural development by virtue of legal decrees. But it can shorten and lessen the birth pangs." Marx: "Kapital," Preface to the First Edition, Zagreb, Skolska Knjiga, page 6.

Since we have already mentioned our development between 1948 and the 21st Meeting, and indeed up to the present, and all our vigorous striving we should not forget either the showdown with the liberal bourgeois views represented by Djilas and the outbreaks of bureaucratic dogmatism which were dealt with at the Fourth Plenum of the LCY Central Committee. All of this was also part of the search for the economic laws which operate in self-managed socialism. We had to discover the laws of socialism set on a self-management foundation, since self-management at that time was unknown in the world, and we also had to verify those laws in practice.

We should, then, regard those congresses in that light. In trying to "shorten and lessen the birth pangs" we had to accept some things and reject others. Now there are two questions which must be asked: first, have we discovered those laws, and second, has the avant-garde and its leadership always been effective and capable of lessening those "birth pangs" as it sought for the economic laws?

With the 10th LCY Congress, with the new constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, and also with the laws which are now coming forth, it is my assumption that we have succeeded in learning the laws that govern the development of self-management socialism. It is clear that we cannot take this as something fixed forever, since here again actual practice has the last word.

#### Tito's First Warning

Has the party always been effective in finding and paving the way for the most effective and painless solutions? Tito's speech in Split in the fifties [sic] has been alluded to several times. That speech was followed by a number of other warnings, and then there were the 1968 Guidelines, and so on. These were all warnings of certain issues that existed in society and signs that that society was seeking solutions to a number of social problems.

However, after Comrade Tito first warned about certain manifestations in the fifties, they did not improve, but rather society's social, economic and nationality problems became more aggravated. Why? The significance is that objectively it was not possible to resolve them on the basis of self-management at that moment, since even self-management was not developing that fast. Many economic and other problems were not resolved, but rather we saw the impact of technocracy, of bureaucracy, of detached power centers, unequal development from republic to republic, and so on. Matters at that time were coming to a head, they were reaching a culmination



in their contradictions, but the party did indeed demonstrate that it is capable of finding solutions, of putting an end to the old relationships, of preventing negative patterns of behavior on the social scene, and of commencing affirmation of the new course of development based on self-management.

Question: The next question was this: Are we furnishing an acute and sufficiently critical analysis of the road that has been traveled?

Answer: Yes and no, depending on what you are referring to. I think that in many of the statements that have come from the leadership of the LCY, the Executive Bureau, Comrade Tito and other leaders, as well as positions contained in congress and party documents our intention has always been to criticize past performance. We have occasionally also supplied that criticism in day-to-day practice. But do we now have a full and rounded analysis of past performance? Probably not. The Letter, the Platform for the 10th Congress and the documents of the 10th Congress have struck deepest in that regard.

Certainly even that congress did not cover everything, nor could it have, so that now after the congress and the constitution, we are going ahead with the Law on Associated Labor and many other laws, and thus we are continuing to develop that analysis and practice. Is there an intention to make such an analysis? Certainly. Comrade Tito and the leadership feel that this should be done at the 11th LCY Congress. Someone may also raise the question of accountability for what happened. Here again we might quote from Marx' Preface to the First Edition of "Das Kapital": "But here individuals are dealt with only insofar as they are the personification of economic categories, embodiments of particular class relations and class interests. My standpoint, from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them."

To undertake criticism and to fail to find the answer would demoralize the class, would signify acknowledgment of helplessness and a lack of prospects, and social upheavals would then have to occur. We could not, for instance, immediately respond to deformations in solving problems of social welfare, and we had strikes. At that time we were no longer able to regulate the market economy through the government, yet self-management still had not grown to the point of resolving those issues. The party, and Comrade Tito particularly, did furnish criticism, the class did accept that criticism, but since society was unable to prevent those deformations at that time, the class expressed its dissatisfaction in the form of strikes.

## We Have Been Lessening the "Birth Pangs"

After all, when we were analyzing those strikes, conflicts in opstinas, and various incidents, we were forced to take note that their causes did not in the main lie in the fact that some people had once been good and had now become bad, but rather we saw that society's development in and of itself had generated new contradictions, yet we did not have the instruments in self-management to deal with them at the right time. Certainly we also drew a lesson: the gist is that the avant-garde equips the class so that the class itself reveals the nature of social development and finds the public responses through self-management, that the party has an impact on the class, and the class in turn on it. After all, this is the way we have of lessening the "birth pangs" in creating the new society.

Question: In connection with the way the 21st Meeting was at one time interpreted as something which was aimed against free thought and democracy in general, interpretations which naturally came from those reactionary forces that were defeated, Jure Bilic had this to say:

Answer: If we look back to that time, we see that the nationalistic euphoria had created leaderism and was at the same time exerting pressure on everything that was communist, partisan, everything that did not accept the views of that nationalistic euphoria. They did not have a program of their own, but they carried the demands set forth in the party program to absurd lengths and also added some separatistic and antiself-management demands. The way in which they wanted to fulfill those demands demonstrated that these were basically reactionary, conservative and counterrevolutionary positions. To state it simply, they were anxious to restore the old society, and for that reason they were not only off the party course, but also off the course of historical development. Why was that?

## Overtones of the Fifty-Fifty Policy

The ultimate demand of the nationalistic elements--not only in Croatia, but also in Slovenia, and even in Macedonia and elsewhere--objectively meant a weakening and eventual liquidation of Yugoslavia as a community of nationalities and ethnic minorities. This kind of activity whetted the appetite of all kinds of forces outside, from the Ustashi and Chetniks to forces representing imperialistic hegemony.

It was no accident that they talked among themselves about confederation and finally even made that notorious demand for Croatia's acceptance into the United Nations. That black-and-yellow idea of a Danube Federation cropped up again. We recall how vigorous the separatistic elements became in Slovenia and the time when Kavcic spoke about Slovenia as "belonging to the West" and demanded a two-party system and parliament. The nationalistic elements in Macedonia were talking about a great Macedonia.

In Serbia there were also manifestations running from hegemonistic to separatist in the discussion of the constitutional amendments. All of this meant that domestic developments in Yugoslavia had generated conflicts even on a European scale and were aggravating the contradictions between the blocs which already existed. We have not yet given sufficient treatment to this component, that is, the international correlation between events in Yugoslavia and everything these nationalistic forces have brought about in international affairs.

Various intelligence services were certainly involved as well, particularly in the intrigues. When I saw the way Nixon behaved in Zagreb, I could not erase the impression that even then he had already undertaken a policy of Yugoslavia's disintegration. He stressed the role of Croatia in Yugoslavia, and he mentioned Yugoslavia only for propriety's sake. And if he did not believe that Yugoslavia could be shattered, he was still pushing the cause of nationalistic separatism, if only as an element of pressure by the West, America, on Yugoslavia. There were also some promises of some kind of economic aid from outside, credits that would be granted, their purpose being to intervene in our internal affairs. The way things went, it all had an overtone of the policy of dividing Yugoslavia 50-50.

This international component, then, should be kept in view and analyzed. After all, how did it come about at that time that all of a sudden some League of Communists of Croatia was formed abroad and had its central committee in a newspaper, and why were the political emigres, especially those with Ustasha leanings, mixed up in that, to the point indeed where it was responsible for creating that "communist" party outside the country.

Now let us go back to that question of democracy. The 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium was not only not aimed against a democratic dialog, free thought, or against democracy in general, but was in fact a blow in the struggle against nationalistic terror. That is why I told the "leaders" that their actions and position in the central committee represented Stalinism. The nationalistic forces wanted to do away with the party, to discredit the revolution and its key figures, but they would have liked to prove that everything since 1941 until they came along was a mistake for Croatia and all of that was "proven" in a despotic manner. That democracy of theirs, which they call the "mass movement of all the people" not only led to internal conflict worse than the one in 1941, since now the communists would be fighting one another, but it caused even international conflicts. This is indicated by all the elements. Since that was a showdown with nationalistic repression, it was also a fight for authentic democracy.

And something else. Those were not elements to which only the term Stalinist can be applied. This was fascism, since its basic aspiration was not socialism, not even that bureaucratic variety, but restoration of the

old bourgeois system. Did they not at the same time adopt a course of encouraging independent businessmen so as to build up a bourgeois economy in this manner? That was also a time of criticism of our farm policy, particularly concerning a private farmer's maximum landholding, and that criticism was based on the positions taken by bourgeois farm policy. Isn't that the time when firm links were forged with the technocrats in the economy, with those elements in the business community whose structure was needed in creating state neocapitalism and thereby disenfranchising the working class even more.

#### The Party Had the Strength to Settle Accounts

It is clear that our party had the strength, when the conditions were right, to settle accounts with those leaders in a matter of 24 hours. That support from the people which they hoped for almost entirely failed to materialize, though some trauma and consequences will still persist, since one stratum of society is bound up not only with that period of nationalism, but with remnants of the old system, with the policies represented by Pasic and Macek and Korosec, and with the extreme right wing which was headed toward fascism.

Question: What were the manifestations of nationalism before those events in 1970 and 1971, and to what extent were they a consequence of what had been happening in the economic foundation of society?

Answer: Perhaps in shedding light on the causes we should start with the Sixth LCY Congress. Though it also had its constructive side, the negative manifestations of the future were already planted in what was constructed at that congress. The slogan was launched that the party should leave the positions of power and take up the position from which it would endow the class with capability, but it would be prohibited from meddling in anything, it would become, so to speak, an ideological mass which could emit rays, but could not change anything. In the economic reform the emphasis was on productivity, on legality of the market, on the profit rate, on structural changes, on opening up to the world market, and so on. In this search for economic changes and for development of the productive forces there was a neglect of the social component; that is, there was a failure to develop social relations on the basis of self-management. An immediate caution was issued to this effect, particularly by Comrade Tito and Comrades Kardelj and Bakaric and others, and it was precisely an examination of that one-sided development of our society that had an essential impact, and in 1968 and 1969 in the constitutional amendments, and later also in the constitution, the commitment was taken to base our entire development on the social relations of self-management. This means that 3 or 4 years ago we were waging a battle for the social reform to stand alongside the economic reform.

It must immediately be said that the experiences of that time should be of use to us today as we enact the Law on Associated Labor. Today's

economic tasks, especially stabilization, eliminating the sources of inflation, the pooling of labor to create broader associations, the price system, the national plan, and so on--unless new social relations based on the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor are created, none of these things will succeed. Work to solve these problems will be improved for a time, but unless we soon establish associated labor as the entity responsible for performing all these tasks, the crisis will occur once again. The harmonious development of the productive forces and of social relations, of self-management and associated labor, does in fact guarantee the permanent stability of the Yugoslav economy, and this also takes into account that our economy must also suffer the ills that are carried over from the world market. But it will be also easier for us to overcome those influences of the world market insofar as we have brought our productive forces and production relations into alignment.

But, to return to the question, the conflict between the forces representing governmentalism and statism and the forces in society representing self-management--and that is the essence of the gap between the economic reform and the social reform--is essentially a class struggle. It is manifested in the resistance to self-management, on one occasion representing resistance exerted by state socialism, the bureaucracy, and on another representing liberalism, laissez-faire, and essentially the bourgeois line of social development.

In that class struggle there have always been two basic questions: who is to make decisions about the surplus value of labor and who is to manage the entire process whereby reproduction takes place in society? Are we to have rule by an organized and unified working class, by associated labor, or are we to have rule by the forces of the old society, be they those of state socialism or bourgeois capitalism?

This is the answer to the question of the essential roots of the nationalistic tendencies, since the relations among the nationalities in our country are resolved when you resolve the dilemma of who is to control the surplus labor and the entire process of social reproduction. Actually the answer to this question was given in the new constitution, that is, in those provisions which resolve those key questions concerning the reproduction of our socialist society.

[19 Dec 76, pp 14-15]

[Text] The Party Is Not a Sect

If we meant the 21st Meeting, the Letter and the 10th Congress to state that the party must have its function in society, we simultaneously rejected the slogan of nonintervention and also that of giving orders in the name of the working class and society.

A great many things have changed since that time when someone wanted to remove the party from the day-to-day practical struggle for socialism on the basis of the slogan of nonintervention and also since the recent past when an attempt was made to discount the role of the party in the revolution and since the war.

These were those "theories" to the effect that the party did not suit the interests of the class because new social inequalities have been created and that we are returning to the old capitalist society (which is basically the theory of the followers of the Cominform), all the way to the theories which hold that the party has not served the interests of the people, the ethnic minorities and nationalities, the republics and the autonomous provinces, which is basically the theory of the nationalistic right in our ranks and outside our ranks. They have all basically asserted that the party is outdated and should wither away.

However, it turned out that the party is most necessary in these contradictory relations, but along with the other forces in society it makes its contribution to equipping a self-managed society to perform its functions, a society in which the basic premise is that the liberation of the working class is the business of that class itself.

#### The Attempted Counterrevolution

The theory that the party is outdated and has performed its function is the theory of the so-called left, but the upshot of that would actually be for the party to be replaced by an intellectual elite, which essentially comes down to the theory and practice of bourgeois society as well as bureaucratic society.

It was also a question of a struggle for power. They wanted to take the power away from this revolution, which has been led by the party. The Cominform forces wanted a statist concept, while the bourgeois liberals wanted restoration, and the so-called left wanted power to be exercised by an intellectual elite, which at that time was linked either to the followers of the Cominform or the bourgeois elements, depending on which time one is talking about. This so-called left, particularly in Croatia, bragged that it had been fighting nationalism, which is not true, since at the same time it was supporting nationalistic aspirations and nationalistic forces in our republics and ethnic minorities.

Our purpose with the 21st Meeting was to settle accounts with those negative tendencies, to give the party its true function, and to equip it to perform that function. In that respect we have made great progress these last 5 years since the 21st Meeting, especially since the Letter and the 10th Congress.

In the course of the campaign we have waged we have restored the reputation of the party and party members, who were previously suspected of

being dishonest, of fighting solely for their own privileges and their own social and financial status. Wherever I have gone, even though there are still shortcomings, even though there are still negative elements in the party, everyone is saying, from the workers on, that the party has begun to seriously raise those issues which are vital to self-management, the working class and all the working people.

#### We Still Have Not Removed All the Blemishes

In a general sense these are the positions and decisions of the 10th Congress; we have enacted the new constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, and so on, and in a practical sense we have raised the question of housing, the question of school enrollment, the question of the poor strata of society, the question of supply, the question of job safety, and so on. The trade union and the party have undertaken certain actions jointly, such as the question of thrift, of the fight against social inequities, of the fight for a fairer division of national wealth on the basis of work. These are all serious issues which have been raised by this party, and it was able to raise them because it had a practical program and because, by placing those issues on the agenda, it at the same time equipped itself, and therefore the reputation of party members and the party is now great.

This does not mean that there are no longer any blemishes in the party. Careerism does still exist, there are still attempts to use membership in the party to obtain privileges. Our demand for moral and political fitness for those who hold key positions in society as a whole is, for instance, taken by some that what is needed is the little red membership book of the party member. Which accounts for occasional application for enrollment in the party, since this "automatically" certifies one's moral and political suitability. This is a sectarian attitude in society and in the party as a whole, since from the moral and political standpoint a man who is not formally a member of the party may be suitable. There are also party members who are not morally and politically suitable, just as there are such people outside the party.

I therefore think that we must build up our party so that it is more and more a party of honest men who will fight for the interests of the class and in that way also pursue their own interests. After all, we should not renounce the fight of party members for their own interests, but their interests must not be detrimental to the interests of others and the interests of the entire society. Their interests are also the interests of the class and the people. We must develop relations in which party members are first to understand that the good fortune of another man is also their fortune, and that another's misfortune is also their misfortune. These are great ethical principles. In this self-management society we must develop the kind of relations in which these principles would be manifested.

What does this mean at the present time?

It means that where decisions are being made concerning people's economic relations and interests, the party member should guarantee not only an ethical and moral approach to this decisionmaking, but a social relationship which guarantees decisions that will be ethical. This means that we must have decision in self-management which are public and made collectively, that an individual or group cannot cut itself off and decide matters to the detriment of others. This is where the party and party members should now be active in both a public and organized manner, but not haphazardly, and in that way they should prevent those individual cases of hanky-panky in commerce, in the awarding of apartments, in hiring, in school enrollment, in obtaining places in dormitories, in athletics, and so on, so that in the main constructive tendencies develop in the making of decisions on all these matters.

#### The Moral Side

This is the moral side of party members. It does not mean that they will moralize in an abstract and irrelevant way, but will organize society so that the positive aspects contribute to their own growth and so as to lessen the birth pangs and weaknesses which accompany social development. I think in this respect we are now on the right road within the party.

Second, I think we are on the right road in trying to make the primary organizations of the League of Communists become more and more collective bodies which encourage and motivate work which party members do on their own. This collective work of the party in the primary organization, the primary organization's relationship to the upper levels of leadership, its influence on the leadership, and the influence of the leadership on the party, that overall communication within the party must motivate the party to furnish the initiative to set the social machinery in motion, to motivate party members to work in the trade union and to set the trade union in motion to settle issues in the bodies of self-management and in the delegate and assembly systems.

The party should debate all those issues--from the awarding of apartments and hiring to the Law on Associated Labor, the Law on the Foreign Exchange System, and so on--and it should answer the vital questions and seek solutions that conform to the principles we have set forth, that is, that decisions go through self-management and so on.

This means that the party should be a collective social force which equips and motivates the party member and itself as a whole to resolve social issues and in that manner "assign" its members to all the social pores of life and to require of them that they bear responsibility, together with others, for resolution of those issues, as well as to involve millions of people through self-management, other sociopolitical organizations, the delegate system, and so on, in the struggle to build socialism.



If we follow that scheme, then the topics of party meetings will not be boring, since party members will be reaching agreements and clearing up matters among themselves, which will contribute to their own edification, since in addition to organized ideological work, they will also be concerned with all the daily problems. This is the sense in which the party is not detached from society, nor is it detached from the government, where there should be party members.

Now even the Law on Government Administration proposes that there be party representatives on the councils of government administration where decisions are made on money matters. In the delegate system we have party representatives just as we do in other sociopolitical organizations.

We will have to guarantee that all the delegates of the party, party members and others perform that function; in that way we break up the party as a sect, as a detached mechanism, since the party is not ordering others around, but is resolving these issues within the social mechanism. This is the basic thrust.

We have some party members who are passive, who wait for directives from above, who, since the party's prestige is great, expect the party leadership and organization to act as arbiters. That indeed is possible in some cases, but it must not become the system. The party must fight within the class and within social institutions for adoption of its position, but it must not impose itself and issue orders. At the outset it may act as an arbiter in some places, but this kind of adjudication must not become the system in the party.

At present, for instance, we have good party organization, that is, party members are doing good work where the economic and production results are good. But in other places where the economic results are good, we have a bad political situation and self-management is developing poorly. Even where the economic conditions are good, it sometimes happens that consumerism and individualistic or even monopolistic appropriation develops, and some other part of the class is in fact exploited. Nevertheless, in most cases where the economic situation is good, this is the result of efforts made by the party and of advanced self-management.

#### The Party Is Not Detached From Society

This means that the situation is not a simple one, but is fairly complex and complicated, and we should evaluate every particular locale and the performance of every individual party member.

We have cases in which the situation in an enterprise is good, in which average worker earnings are 400,000 or 500,000 old dinars, and here I am talking about manufacturing organizations, and where in the last 2 years we have enrolled between 40 and 50 new members of the party. We have organizations in which there are between 900 and 1,000 women, and yet only

between 30 and 35 of them are party members. All the key management positions are held by men. We also have a situation in which there are between 4,500 and 5,000 workers, and among them there are between 300 and 400 party members; this is in metal manufacturing. In other words, it varies.

We can make generalizations, but in practical matters, in the fight for self-management and socialism, for development of the productive forces, we must analyze practically every locale on its own merits. On that basis the leaders in various institutions might draw some general conclusions, might look for patterns, might seek centers of resistance, power centers, and so on, but we expect of the party, above all the primary party organization and from there on up, to provide guidance in the sense of work done on the basis of the old political school of our party, which was very concrete and ambiguous and directly concerned with current problems of importance.

I listen to discussions which are now taking place, which are abstract and general, which might apply to all the cities in Yugoslavia, and to all the business firms in Yugoslavia, yet the situation is not the same. This can also be said of the party, the trade union, the Socialist Alliance, and so on. That is the reason why in some places there is no trade union, there is no Socialist Alliance, there is no youth organization, but only their committees, since there is no party in those organizations. Wherever the party is strong, the other public organizations are also strong, since the party is within that class....

At present we ought to insist that party organizations turn toward self-management, toward the trade union, toward youth organizations, and so on. Today there are almost a million and a half young people who are not members of the youth organization, and as for those 2.5 million who are members, it is a question how active they are and how much chance we give them to be active. We have hardly any primary organizations of the Socialist Alliance, since as a rule they are run by retired persons and housewives who are members of the party, and here and there you will find an individual citizen, who serves as window dressing. We do not have a party in such cases. But even in this respect encouraging new things are happening now. The same is true in rural areas.

#### Mobilization of the Masses

So, either we have no party or the party members are not active. There is in fact something objective about this, since frequently these people are working in urban factories, transportation is not perfect, and so on, and they haven't the time for these activities. We should find ways in which party members can improve themselves from the ideological standpoint and can be active in their communities....

There is also quite a bit of gratifying evidence, and these aspects should be generalized and disseminated, and at the same time a fight should be waged against things which are wrong, against traditionalism, passivity, opportunism, fawning, and so on. We now have quite a bit of opportunism and fawning, and this goes back to social status.

We have to demolish the material foundation that creates toadies and wage relations within the party and society as a whole, but this is a lengthy historical process. Men are still being ruled, and there are cases when major personnel decisions are being made and various reorganization plans are carried out, and all of this is behind a veil, taking place behind closed doors and carried out by very small groups, instead of our opening up and seeking the best solutions through self-management, public organizations, the League of Communists, and so on. We should create a system which will resolve these problems, where the impact of party members is also then clear.

It is a different matter, as I have already said, if the party is detached, then it would wither away in and of itself. There are no revolutionary developments in which the masses are not mobilized. This was demonstrated by our experience in the National Liberation Struggle, in our postwar construction, in the Popular Front, in the youth work projects, in rebuilding the country, in the volunteer work to build major construction projects, in the crisis over Trieste, in the resistance to the Cominform, and so on. In all those cases the party was given the massive support of the working class, the people and the nationalities of this country.

If in the present stage the party does not set the masses in motion to fight for associated labor, for self-management and for those things we have been talking about, all of this will be in jeopardy, since the masses will not be able to accomplish those things on their own. This means that they will also lose what they have today....

That is why we must restore to all social institutions some of the experiences from the past, the experiences of the Popular Front, as well as SKOJ [Yugoslav Young Communist League] and experiences in working with women....

[26 Dec 76, pp 12-13]

[Text] The Bureaucracy's Power

I think that under our conditions we have waged a more effective fight against the counterrevolution than we are able to wage against the bureaucracy. This is a more protracted, difficult and subtle battle than preventing the return of the old order. The bureaucracy as a structure, no matter whether it is that of the government or self-management, must exist. And it is the law of such an apparatus to increase in mass and magnitude, which means that a cumbersome apparatus tends to be created. That cumbersome apparatus, by its own logic--which is "the greater the

mass, the greater the strength"--aspires to govern. The question is how self-management is to create its own apparatus which will be a part of social reproduction and will remain a function of productive labor.

### The New Class Struggle

Just as a specified number of workers are needed to run a machine, so also we need a government apparatus, the structure of self-management and the economic apparatus, but that apparatus will have to be a function of the development of the productive forces and production relations. The question of how at this point we are to square the aspiration of producers with that law of accretion of the apparatus and its desire to govern is a very serious one. It is not just a question of preventing the formation of the cumbersome apparatus which then has a tendency to govern, but of preventing bureaucratic social relations.

In the Law on Associated Labor, that is, through the basic organizations of associated labor, our purpose was for the surplus labor to be at the disposition of organized working people, so that they, along with the other working people, will distribute the surplus value of labor among those functions in society which are necessary. We have been devising and we have devised work organizations and complex organizations in the economy, we are creating the self-managed special-interest communities in the fields of social service and public activities, we are creating the delegate system in assemblies, so that actually we are setting up a new state based on self-management.

There is also criticism to the effect that this new mechanism, particularly in certain of its parts, will tend to detach itself and become bureaucratic in the sense of the creation of a large apparatus, whereupon it will dispose of the surplus value of labor and act on its own. This is probably because associated labor and the delegate system are not yet strong and astute. The system has not yet taken shape; perhaps it is not yet even able to cope with that bureaucracy, which is better trained and which has a better knowledge of certain things, and which uses various tricks and pressures. I would say that we are even seeing what Marx called "the furies of personal interest." And how are we to transform that fury of personal interest into a relationship based on equal benefit, cooperation and consensus?

That is why we now have these problems in self-managed special-interest communities, which have begun to build up large staffs and high salaries, and it is now estimated that self-managed special-interest communities in the field of culture are costing 30 billion dinars (I am referring to self-managed special-interest communities for culture and education in Croatia); that between 70 and 80 forms have to be filled out to register a self-managed special-interest community; that registration of basic organizations of associated labor costs 50 billion dinars. We know that the democratization of society is expensive, but the question is what

part of all this is inevitable and necessary, and what part is generated and multiplied unnecessarily? Associated labor, productive work, together with the avant-garde, the trade union and other organized forces of society, should see the way of putting these things in their places. I would call this a new class struggle.

As for the spread in personal income, this is most profoundly bound up with authentic implementation of the principle of distribution according to work. We will begin with distribution of income according to work and remuneration according to work. I have just visited some work organizations and seen that income is distributed according to work, according to productivity at the work station, whether it be on an individual or team basis, or in other cases the production process and technology may require precise quotas and job assignments.

#### Pay Ceiling for Everyone But the Workers

If the quota is met, then one gets a certain personal income; if the quota is exceeded, one gets a larger personal income, so that in some factories there are workers who earn between 800,000 and 1 million old dinars at their job, since they exceed the quotas. However, there is another problem in distribution: if a worker does not meet the quota or falls short, he usually does not receive a smaller personal income, though this does in fact happen occasionally, but he receives the base pay which is set for the quota. There is a lack of "courage" to tackle this question, since it causes dissatisfaction and resentment....

There are also other problems. Preparatory operations, the planning staff, the purchasing department, and so on, have not fulfilled their tasks on time, and so a worker does not complete his work assignment on time. What happens now? In this case the worker at his job in material production fails to get his income, or he gets it because he is not at fault, but those work units--purchasing, sales, setup, preparation of materials, etc.--receive their income even though they have not performed their tasks. They receive it, that is, regardless of whether they do their jobs or not.

Thus the principle of remuneration according to work is applied to workers directly engaged in material production, though its application is not consistent, while the entire superstructure, beginning with the basic organization of associated labor, the work organization, and the complex organization of associated labor, is not required to perform jobs and to obtain its income on the basis of material production....

Another problem is that the entire superstructure, the assemblies, socio-political organizations, trade unions, economic chambers, banks and all others must be made dependent on the income of material production, or at least the direction must be toward making them dependent on that real income. We have only begun this process with the self-managed special-interest communities in these fields.

Perhaps this is where we are weakest, in the relationship between the economy and certain sociopolitical organizations and communities--the banks, commerce, insurance, economic chambers, etc. The surplus value is still alienated here. That value behaves as though it were alienated and detached from the labor in material production. We thus have cases where staffs are now growing excessively and without control, and there are no questions or participation on the part of associated labor, that is, delegates of basic organizations of associated labor, and the present degree of association based on self-management is not yet functioning.

I think that the delegates of associated labor, of basic organizations of associated labor above all, delegates in assemblies, in economic chambers, in banks, in self-managed special-interest communities, and specifically those who come from productive work, must be better organized, must come forth with the facts, must be better able to deal with that alienation and with that tendency on the part of the superstructure. Of course, we must not go to the other extreme either (and actually that is not happening yet on any scale), and it seems to me that the main direction is for associated labor and all the progressive subjective forces to exert influence and pressure so that these unwholesome manifestations do not occur.

A Spread, Yes, But How Wide?

Which accounts for cases of remuneration in the superstructure in which, for example, the head of a department consisting of two or three clerks will receive as much as a million dinars in personal income, and this happens in opstinas, sociopolitical organizations, economic chambers, banks, and so on, and this represents an enormous rate of pay compared to that of production workers. What we need here now are mutual agreements concerning distribution and remuneration, and this would involve the setting of ceilings.

I favor pay ceilings for various categories in the superstructure until they become a function of associated labor and the distribution of income, at which point those matters will be settled by consensus, but I am against pay ceilings on those in material production, on those whose income does depend on material production, on those who contribute to larger production and higher productivity. That is, I am against pay ceilings in material production and in favor of pay ceilings in the superstructure; I would even favor self-management accords which would set pay limits for the various categories, since we are unable to link that pay to income created in the production sector. There are certain categories of employees, such as teachers in elementary and particularly secondary schools, who are paid very badly. The corrections need to be made here as soon as possible.

The question has also been raised of reducing the spread within the class and of increasing the spread between productive work and the superstructure. When we began to work on these problems of who gets how much in

society and began to be concerned about the less well paid categories of labor, the lower skills categories--unskilled and semiskilled workers--we decided that that question would not be resolved solely on the basis of personal income, which would mean raising personal income, but that it would have to be linked to a rise in the social standard of living, particularly for those lower categories.

These two things need to be joined together. In practice care must be taken that the lower categories have the lower personal income which corresponds to their work, while the higher categories--skilled and highly skilled workers and those with university training--depending on their work and in relation to the work process, would have a greater spread, but we would be more consistent in furnishing public benefits for the lower categories, just as we have begun to do with apartments awarded on the basis of solidarity, free school textbooks, child welfare, lower rent for workers with low incomes, and so on. If we carry this out on a broad scale, then it will relieve work organizations of the demand for leveling.

#### Everyone's Pay To Be Open to Criticism

So, the concern about the social standard of living in terms of compassion for the lower categories of workers, and not only the lower categories, makes it possible for the spread to be wider, which means incentives for work which yields larger results in the work process. On the other hand, care should be taken so that that social standard of individuals belonging to these "lower" categories of employed persons does not create sponging and parasitism, nor can we allow such a spread for the "higher" categories in the work process that it will create social inequalities and conflicts within the class.

These relations should be analyzed by the trade union and party and other progressive forces, staff services and bodies of self-management, and these relations should be arrived at by concluding self-management accords and social compacts. Thus personal income of all categories in Yugoslavia and at all levels should be subject to criticism, and I am in favor of making this public. There is no logic, say, by comparison with official positions in the republics and the Federation, for us to have quite a few cases in opstina sociopolitical organizations, banks, commercial firms, self-managed special-interest communities and associations of self-managed special-interest communities, where the president, secretary, chiefs, staff specialists, and so on, is paid a million or more dinars a month. There is hardly any difference at all. There should be an investigation of this entire matter. I am not seeking privileges for any official position anywhere, but the distribution throughout the superstructure should be in accord with responsibility and so on. As it stands, the situation is quite out of line.

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NEW LAW EXPLAINED FOR RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Dec 76 p 4

[Text] The new law on the legal situation of religious communities in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was just accepted by the delegates of the appropriate assembly councils, provides that religious communities not be allowed to meddle in the political relations; they must rigorously limit their activity to religious affairs and religious rites.

This legal text, as it was said, neither expands nor narrows the constitutional principles on religious freedom, but it only develops and establishes in a more detailed way what is and what is not permitted according to the Constitution in the activity of religious communities. According to the words of Muhamed Besic, president of the Commission of Bosnia-Herzegovina Executive Council for relations with the religious communities, at the time the draft law was worked out we proceeded from the fact that it ought to contain in itself a clear class approach to the problems of the position and activity of religious communities in our society. This has been expressed through the principles to which we adhered from the Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia and Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to today: religious freedom, separation of church from the state and separation of school from the church, prohibition of religious intolerance, struggle against the "clericalization" of the church, etc.

Muhamed Besic stressed that by this law it is desired to make impossible the politicization of religious communities and "clericalization" of religious beliefs of citizens. The religious communities must not deviate from the characteristics inferred from their name; [namely], organizations for satisfying the religious needs of citizens who desire that. In that respect the significant regulations are those in which it is stated that within the framework of the religious communities and their organizations it is forbidden to organize or carry out activities of general and special social interest, i.e. to found the body for such activities.

Otherwise the judgement has been made in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina that practice has clearly confirmed that the



relations of the socio-political community with the religious communities have been developing in an increasingly more positive and satisfactory manner, and that the basic principles of these relations founded on the basis of the Constitution and the law have been mutually accepted. On the territory of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina there are several active religious communities that operate freely and enjoy an equal legal position. In accordance with the Constitution and the law, they freely publish their religious press and other publications intended for religious purposes, they carry out undisturbed religious rites and religious affairs, and the majority have facilities for worship.

Muhamed Besic further pointed out: "In recent times we did not have very difficult conflicts in relations with any religious communities which is, above all, the result of a more adequate regulating of their legal position."

Such an estimate, however, would be incomplete if one did not also mention occasional disagreements, and even excesses which occurred in recent times. Namely it has been said that there are periodical attempts by the representatives of religious communities to operate outside of the area which had been designated by the Constitution and the law, the fact which, it is understandable, was met with an energetic involvement of organized conscientious political forces, so that the activity of religious organizations would develop in accordance with the Constitution and the law.

On the occasion of the acceptance of the new law on the legal situation of religious communities in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina it was said among other things in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina: "the most frequent forms of activities of religious communities outside of the Constitution and the law are the attempts to legalize their work in the areas of general and special social interest and the secret link of individuals from the religious communities with the political emigres and other enemies of socialist self-management development. In our energetic struggle against such links one ought not to pay attention to our opposition to religion but rather to the politicization of religion and use of religion for anti-national, anti-socialist and anti-self-management purposes."

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